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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society assembled in Mercantile Hall, Friday, January 25, for their thirty-seventh annual meeting. Three sessions were held, all of which were largely attended. The President of the Society, Rev. John T. Sargent, presided, and the proceedings were regarded with great interest.

Forenoon Session.—The forenoon session was opened at 10 o'clock, the President, Rev. John T. Sargent, in the chair.

Messrs. Stephen S. Foster, J. N. Buffum, H. C. Wright and J. T. Everett were appointed a committee to nominate officers for the ensning year. A Business Committee consisting of Stephen S. Foster, William Wells Brown, and Henry C. Wright, and a Finance Committee consisting of George W. Stacy, N. B. Spooner, Abby Kelley Foster and J. N. Buffum were appointed.

Mr. H. C. Wright offered the following resolution, and spoke at some length in its favor:

Whereas, governmental protection to any class of its subjects is in proportion to the direct control of such class over the government, therefore

Resolved, That there can be no hope that the negro will receive efficient protection to his rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," until he is placed on a perfect equality with the whites in the use of the ballot, and till the principle of *impartial suffrage*, without regard to color, is made the practical basis of our State and National government.

Mr. Wright instanced the result of negro suffrage in the District of Columbia in support of the proposition in the resolution. He said he would rather trust the destinies of the nation with ignorant negroes than with educated traitors, North or South; expressing the opinion that a sober negro was better competent to rule the destinies of the nation than such men as John C. Calhoun, Daniel Webster, or any men whose brains were constantly muddled with strong drink. He did not believe that the negro, if he had the use of the ballot, would govern the country any worse than it had been by the whites. On the contrary, he believed there would be a decided improvement. He would rather, to-day, see the destiny of the nation in the hands of the uneducated negroes, North and South, than in the hands of the rebels.

Mrs. Abby Kelley Foster said, in support of the resolution, that those who were debarred the right of the ballot, were not considered as of the people, and, of course, were not legislated for. She hoped the resolution would receive the earnest consideration of the Convention.

Mr. Wright again took the floor in further support of the resolution.

Mr. J. T. Everett followed in support of the resolution. He said that politicians and statesmen, in speaking of restoring the South to her rights in the government of the nation, ignored the existence of two-thirds of the people of that section, and only thought of restoring the rights of the defeated rebel aristocracy.

Stephen S. Foster said that this was a very pleasant occasion to him; but there was a very unpleasant drawback. He missed the old-time faces who in bygone times occupied places on the platform. He entered a protest against the absence of any one from the duty, self-imposed, of carrying out the principles of the anti-slavery party. The work of the Society was not near done. The negro had not received his equal rights, and although he may have received the title deed to his liberty, yet the United States Court had not yet decided on the validity of the deed, and he predicted that the Court would decide against the validity of the Constitutional Amendment, unless it was thoroughly reorganized.

Mr. Foster closed his remarks by an appeal in behalf of The Standard, and was followed by Mrs. Foster in further endorsement of that journal.

Mr. J. T. Everett expressed his opinion that Mr. Garrison was as true to his convictions in leaving the platform as Mr. Foster or any member of the Society to theirs in remaining. He said that Mr. Garrison considered that the Emancipation proclamation issued by President Lincoln abolished slavery legally throughout the land.

Mr. J. N. Buffum called attention to Mr. Garrison's labors in other channels in the same direction. For himself he had not confined his labors to the Society. He had been instrumental in a degree in bringing Gen. Butler before the public. The next Congress would be stronger than the present, and would no doubt accomplish greater results.

Mr. Wm. Wells Brown said he did not think that people here understood the position of the colored people of the South. He went into a long argument, showing that their condition was vastly worse than before their emancipation. The negroes had been armed under a promise of freedom, and now that freedom was withheld. He did not believe the action of Congress was intentional, but owing entirely to mismanagement and the contemptible meanness of the President. The only safeguard of the race was in impartial suffrage.

Rev. Edwin Thompson spoke of the very much improved condition of public opinion during the past thirty years. He made a very humorous speech, which kept the audience good natured, and concluded by offering at auction several pikes which were brought from Fort Wagner, several of which were sold at $5 each.

Mr. Phillips said he had never known of any despondent men except those who belonged to a political party. He believed that the anti-slavery cause had every element of progress, and there was no reason to despair because the opposite party was desponding. It should be a greater incentive to action on our part. He contrasted the present condition of affairs with that of even two or three years ago. We are going to conquer; if not now, we must inevitably in the future. He would say that everything was with us. Congress was with us if it only dared to act. If the anti-slavery party would succeed, it must continue to fight against, and change the present state of public opinion. He reviewed the progress made by Congress, and agreed with Mr. Foster that while it had granted the negro the title-deed, they failed to give him the estate. The remedy prescribed by Mr. Phillips was the endowment of the colored race with the power of the ballot. Mr. Phillips said that the danger to the country arising from the impeachment of President Johnson would not be half as great as it would be if he was let alone.

Mr. Phillips said he did not doubt that the people would succeed in the contest which was now progressing. He had studied public opinion, and public opinion was the instrument with which we must work, and it indicated progression and final success. But we could not rely upon party to secure to the black man his rights.

The Republican party do not dare to act effectively in this matter. Its leaders promise to accomplish certain things, but they are warned by the press of the party, not to go too far. The XXXIXth Congress, he said, would not dare to impeach President Johnson, and if the XLth Congress impeached him, it will be because the people of the North force them to do it.

Not only is the Supreme Court and the Executive opposed to this measure, but the Senate of the United States stands a bulwark opposed to it. One of the leaders—one of the ablest debaters in that body—holds more than twenty offices in the hands of his friends, eleven of which are in his own family. Do you suppose that man would smite the President in the face?

The Senate is the strongest protector of Andrew Johnson at this moment. The Republican party say it is a dangerous thing to attack President Johnson, but it is an infinitely more dangerous thing to have him occupy the Presidential chair for two years to come.

Adjourned to 2½ o'clock.

Afternoon Session.—The Society met, pursuant to adjournment, at 2½ o'clock, and were addressed by Rev. Edwin Thompson in continuation of his remarks of the forenoon.

J. N. Buffum of Lynn followed in answer to remarks of Mr. Phillips, that the city of Boston was pro-slavery in sentiment. He contrasted the present state of public opinion as compared with that of former years. Undoubtedly there had been isolated cases, showing something of the old leaven of wickedness, but they were more than counterbalanced by the rapid strides made in the opposite direction. He instanced the result of the recent elections in the cities of Boston and Charlestown in sending colored representatives. He believed that greater progress would be made in the future.

Thomas Knox, M.D., the next speaker, was very severe on Mr. Buffum for endeavoring, as he averred, to stave off a criticism of the acts of some of the leaders of the Anti-Slavery party.

Mr. Buffum rejoined. His remarks were to the effect that he did not deprecate impartial criticism, but he did dislike criticism unjustly applied.

Mr. Everett thought it was nonsense to waste ammunition in criticising each other, when it could be better used in battling the enemies of human rights.

Dr. Knox tried to obtain the floor for the purpose of making an explanation, but was overruled by the President in favor of Mrs. Harper.

Mrs. Harper was received with much enthusiasm. She said she had no eulogy to pronounce upon Mr. Garrison. History and posterity would do justice to him and his labors. Four millions of broken chains were a sufficient eulogy, in her opinion, for Mr. Garrison, and he could rest secure in that result, brought about entirely by him. Since the emancipation she had visited the South, and had seen and talked with the freedmen, fathers and mothers, and was impressed with one great idea which actuated them, and that was their faith in God, and another was their tenderness of heart. She said that the word for this hour was the same as that spoken to Moses of old—"speak ye to the people that they go forward," and in place of the shackles of former days give them the ballot.

Rev. Mr. Connor, of the School Street Church, said this country was to be reconstructed by giving the ballot to the black as well as to the white. There were obstacles to surmount in accomplishing that object. Andrew Johnson was one of these obstacles, and we must set him aside, as it will be impossible for the nation to go forward while he occupied the chief post in the Ship of State. Like Mrs. Harper he thought Mr. Johnson was a great mustard plaster on the face of the nation, and thought it might be beneficial to have such plaster, still he did not care to keep it on too long, lest it might raise a blister. It was already causing irritation at the South, and it was time to throw at him the club of impeachment, and so displace him, that the nation might go forward in the great march of progress and take the place designed for her, based on the principle of equal rights to all.

Wendell Phillips, while the Financial Committee were employed in collecting funds, addressed the Convention on the work to be engaged in by the Society in the time to come. He expressed the conviction that the object of the President was to save as much as possible what we call Southern oligarchy from the effects of the war. The business interests of the country were asking that the affair be patched up in some form. Four powerful forces behind Mr. Johnson were the Democratic party, the South itself, the commercial interest, and the conservative element of the Republican party. The tools of these forces were the President and the Supreme Court. These could be defeated, but, as Mr. Lincoln had said, it was a big job. The necessity of manufacturing public opinion in favor of the cause was especially insisted on. He urged liberal contributions, and though contributors might not see immediate results from its expenditures, yet they surely would realize it in the work accomplished. The contributions to the Anti-Slavery cause were likened to the rivulet in Greece which disappeared in that country and reappeared in Sicily; the money contributed disappeared, but with the eye of faith it could be seen in the results which it accomplished. Some of the money already contributed had cropped out in Butler's hanging a rebel in New Orleans; in Mr. Boutwell's declaration that so long as he could say nay he would never allow a pardoned rebel to practice before the bar of the United States. The Anti-Slavery Society was a committee in perpetual session, and they employed Congress to do their debating, and paid them for it. If the battle of reconstruction is ever won it will be won by the masses of the people. Congress was again submitted to severe criticism, and it was maintained that if the nation was saved the masses would be the instrumentality.

Mr. H. C. Wright spoke briefly on the question under consideration.

In accordance with the report of the Nominating Committee, the following officers for the ensning year were elected:

President—Rev. John T. Sargent.

Corresponding Secretary—Mrs. Caroline M. Severance of West Newton.

Recording Secretary—Charles K. Whipple of Boston.

Counsellors—Wendell Phillips, Charles E. Hodges, Mrs. Sarah J. Nowell of Cambridgeport, Mrs. Mary E. Sawyer of Grantville, Abraham Folsom of Boston, Joshua B. Smith of Boston, William I. Bowditch of Brookline, Mrs. Caroline R. Putnam of Salem, Rev. Rowland Connor of Boston.

Treasurer—R. P. Hallowell of Boston.

Auditor—William I. Bowditch of Boston.

A brief debate on the doctrine of State rights took place between Mr. Phillips and a gentleman in the audience, after which the meeting adjourned until the evening session.

Evening Session.—The discussion upon the rights of the negro, as set forth in the resolutions of the morning session, was resumed, when Rev. J. Freeman Clarke was introduced and spoke at some length upon the nature of these rights and the necessary steps to be taken by the government to protect them; the first and most important one being the removal of the President.

He said it was his belief that slavery existed in the country at the present time to as great an extent as it ever did, and there was sufficient reason to show that the labors of the Society should be continued. In this line of argument he gave certain newspaper information which strengthened his belief. He spoke of the conduct of a Washington audience in a Presbyterian church during a Sabbath-school celebration, when certain remarks by a clergyman of a complimentary character to the colored children of the school, were hissed, which before the war would have been received with approbation. Mr. Clarke, in his remarks, insisted that it was the duty of the whole people of the North to look after the welfare of the negro, and insist upon it that he becomes in every sense of the word a free man.

Mr. E. H. Heywood followed, and though he was opposed to all war, he said he heartily responded to the arguments offered by the speakers in their remarks during the day. He liked to attend Anti-Slavery conventions, because he learned there all the news of the day—indeed, he learned often what was going to happen. For whatever course was pursued by the Anti-Slavery Society, Congress was pretty sure to adopt a similar course in the course of the year; yet he dissented from the policy of the Society adopted since the breaking out of the rebellion. Mr. Heywood proceeded at some length, and his remarks relating to government based upon consent as being something that the Society seemed to lose sight of, caused a very earnest discussion between several of the gentlemen who had spoken during the day.

He repudiated entirely the war policy of the Anti-Slavery party, as both unchristian and inexpedient, and gave his views at length on the mistake, as he viewed it, made by the loyal masses in 1861, in their choice of the method to carry out their purpose.

H. C. Wright replied briefly to this argument of Mr. Heywood, indicating the national action as, from its standpoint, right and sound.

Mr. Phillips presented the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That no rebel territory should be recognized as a State until the Federal Constitution itself guarantees to every loyal citizen within the Union the ballot and education, and to the negro land besides.

Resolved, That the safety and honor of the nation demands three things—the removal of the President, the setting aside of the present so-called State governments at the South, and the remodelling of the Supreme Court; and without these we see little or no hope of the continued success of the Union party.

Resolved, That the vindication and protection of the negro, and the restoration of his rights, demand the same measures, and are inseparably bound up with their success. That, in the name of national safety, national honor, justice, and the negro's right, we demand of Congress that it go forward until this national structure rests on justice and liberty for its cornerstones.

The resolutions being adopted, Mr. Phillips made a review of the discussions of the day and the evening, in which he presented the whole theory of Abolitionism from the very first days of its organization in America. No adjournment was reached till a late hour in the evening.

The following letter was addressed to the meeting by Aaron M. Powell:

LETTER FROM AARON M. POWELL.

Office of the National Anti-Slavery Standard,
39 Nassau Street, New York,
Thursday, January 24, 1867.

Rev. John T. Sargent, *President Mass. A. S. Society*—

My Dear Friend: Absorbing duties here, the great uncertainty of travel, and the need of special care with reference to health, will not allow of my being with you in the meeting to be held to-morrow, and at the Festival to be held this evening. Each preceding meeting has been important, but there has never been one called in a more critical period in national affairs than the present. A treacherous, malignant and besotted President blocks the pathway of national progress and reconstruction. With or without the veto, he thwarts, and while in office will continue to baffle, the well-intended legislation of Congress. He is an obstacle which it should have been the very first business of the XXXIXth Congress to have removed. I trust your Society will make a special and emphatic demand of Congress to proceed, without delay, to impeach and depose Andrew Johnson from the office he now usurps and dishonors. Until this is done, everything else commendable which may be enacted is liable to be undone. There need be no hesitation on account of providing a successor from the Senate, while you have from Massachusetts as a member of that Senate the Hon. Charles Sumner.

Of the threatening attitude of the Supreme Court; the "swindling" and demoralizing Constitutional Amendment; the timidity of certain Republican leaders and the rascality of others; the revival of the slave auction-block, the whipping-post and slave-hunting; the new reign of terror to all loyalists throughout the South, black and white; and the imminent danger of a renewed outbreak of war, I cannot write. Suffice it to say that, though encouraged by all that has been gained, and especially by the triumph of impartial suffrage for colored men in the District of Columbia, the best efforts of Abolitionists are necessary to achieve the complete emancipation and enfranchisement of the colored race.

Cordially yours,
Aaron M. Powell.

PETITION OF THE NATIONAL EQUAL RIGHTS CONVENTION.

Mr. Sumner, on the 18th inst., presented to the Senate the petition of the National Equal Rights League Convention of colored men held in Washington, January 10th, 11th, 12th, 1867. He said:

In presenting this very important petition, I shall not err if I call the attention of the Senate especially to its prayer. They say this:

"Wherever your jurisdiction extends, and especially throughout all the Territories lately in rebellion, where States are in due time to be reconstructed, and the whole subject of the rights and franchises of citizenship is to be adjusted, there we ask you to secure to our people impartial suffrage and all the rights and privileges of American citizens, equality before the laws of our country."

They then proceed to say:

"Permit us further to remind you that the loyal whites throughout the portion of our country late in rebellion unite with one voice to implore you to make the elective franchise impartial, irrespective of race or color, believing it to be essential to their own safety as well as to ours, and altogether vital to the effective reconstruction of civil government and the ascendency of loyal citizens in its administration."

In enforcing this prayer the petitioners dwell with admirable effect on the promises of the Declaration of Independence, which they ask Congress to carry out; and they conclude as follows:

"We ask a reconstruction therefore, gentlemen, which, founded on impartial justice, brings safety and peace to the loyal white American, happiness and prosperity to our common country, while it is the shield and buckler, the strong defense of the American freedman. Our plea is before you."

This petition is signed by John M. Langston, President of the National Equal Rights League Convention of Colored Men and by the three Secretaries of the Convention.

You do not forget, Mr. President, that Lord Chatham, when the papers of the American Congress reached England, declared from his seat in Parliament that there was nothing in the political history of mankind which he had read with more respect and admiration. He pronounced those papers to be master-pieces. But I venture to say, sir, that among the papers at that time laid before Parliament there were none to which that designation was more entirely applicable than to this memorial and to the resolutions adopted at the same time by that Convention. That Convention was held here in Washington. Numerous as it was, and composed of delegates from seventeen States, it is perhaps not too much to characterize it as in itself a congress—a congress of colored persons held here in the national capital in order to plead with you, sir, on the critical condition of the country.

I have said that seventeen States were represented. These were Kansas, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Massachusetts, and California, and also the District of Columbia. The number of delegates was one hundred and ten. They represented well nigh all the callings of life. There was one lawyer among them, and he was their President—John M. Langston, of Ohio. There were also among them two doctors, B. W. Arnett and H. J. Brown, of Pennsylvania. There were three bishops, Wayman, Green, and Talbot; ten ministers of the Gospel; three professors of colleges; five school-teachers; five graduates from colleges; three professional lecturers; two editors and publishers of newspapers; two grocers; one merchant; two cotton planters; a large number of mechanics and farmers; one ex-captain and two ex-lieutenants of the United States service, and three ex-chaplains. Let me add to this characterization that a large majority of the delegates were once slaves, and many of them gained their freedom through the recent war.

I think, sir, I do not err when I say that such a Convention of colored people assembled here in the national capital is in itself an event; but if you will only carry out their prayer, you will create an epoch in the history of this country and in the history of civilization. Sir, in their prayer I unite absolutely, and gladly place myself by their side.

I ask that this petition be referred to the joint Committee on Reconstruction.

It was so referred.

THE AMENDMENT.

A hearing was held in the Representatives Hall of the Massachusetts State House on Jan. 24, before the Joint Committee on Federal Relations, to listen to arguments in favor of or against the passage, by the Legislature, of the proposed Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

WENDELL PHILIPS'S SPEECH AGAINST ITS RATIFICATION.

Wendell Phillips, after stating the several propositions of the Amendment, proposed to discuss the points laid down. He said this Amendment had been nine months before the country; nine months in this age of rapid progress was almost an age; legislation itself, by sheer necessity, had materially changed in nine months. He did not desire to oppose the general policy of Congress, but events had ripened so fast that if the Amendment lay on the table of Congress for the first time to-day, it was by no means certain it would receive a majority of votes. The feeling of Congress and of the loyal masses had been changed materially. The Amendment had floated as far behind the present wish of the nation as had the Amendment of 1861. Practically it was of little value. Falling back on the Executive and the Supreme Court, the South had made up its mind to oppose the Amendment. Between these two it was evident that it would not be carried, for the North alone could not carry it. The action of Massachusetts, therefore, could be of no importance except as a mere expression of her opinion. No man who visits Washington has any idea that the Amendment will ever be more than a mere attempt. The Amendment, technically, says nothing about reconstruction; it makes three separate propositions, but has nothing looking directly or indirectly to this great question. Yet we are led to believe, by the action of the Republican National Committee, that these Amendments were the plans of Congress as a basis of reconstruction. The members of Congress, many of them, seem to favor this idea, and Mr. Phillips quoted from a speech of Gov. Ward of New Jersey to the same effect. The New York *Herald*, which certainly looks at things practically, all through the last Fall counselled the Southern States to accept the Amendments, and they could then come into the Union. And the Republicans who favor this view, if Massachusetts rejects the Amendments, will say that Massachusetts rejects the Congressional plan of reconstruction. He thought he had demonstrated that the Amendment, as it stands to-day, is of no practical value. One reason why we should not accept the Amendment is that we should pledge ourselves to a principle while others pledged themselves to nothing. He hoped that Massachusetts would see the necessity of postponing action, if she didn't refuse it. There was time enough to make Amendments to the Constitution when they would be of some practical value. The fact is we have got far beyond the proposed Amendments—we couldn't enforce it if we would—we must fight for more. Theatrical legislation is absurd, it don't settle vital principles. But suppose the Supreme Court arrays itself against us; that the President is impeached and that Mr. Boutwell's bill is carried, then will our cause be strong and the South will tremble for their safety. They will then say that they will accept the Amendment, and Massachusetts, having committed herself to the measure, cannot refuse to give them the terms they ask. Another reason why he would not pass the Amendment is that there is no essential cause for so doing. We pledge ourselves to principles, while the other party do not pledge themselves at all. We cannot read the future, so I would have our hands as free as those of the South. I do not choose to be bound. Even if the South comes in, who knows, after Messrs. Boutwell and Sumner have fought their battle and gained the day, but the South will turn back just in the moment of victory, and save themselves by accepting the Amendment. Then what folly for these Northern States to bind themselves to a position to which the Southern States will not be bound. If you do not refuse that Amendment, postpone it; say, to-day, it is of no sort of consequence. Postpone your decision for a year, and we will then see whether to accept it or not. We will not be bound while the rest of the country is not bound. The body of the public mind represented in the Supreme Court will not be bound; the body representing Southern interests, North and South, are not going to be bound. Why should we, as representing the radical element of the country, put ourselves down and be shackled by principle? If it was the most innocent principle or most unobjectionable measure in the world, I would not be shackled—I want to be as free as others. I would urgently, therefore, impress on Massachusetts the necessity of postponing action, if she does not absolutely refuse it. It is time enough to amend the Constitution when a practical question is involved. When Congress, by this second amendment, sits down and bids the Southern States to come into the halls of legislation as their co-equals, as a white man's government, practically shutting out the negro race, he called it a swindle, while Mr. Wilson deemed it a compromise. We say to Robert Small, and others of his class, and to the Southern loyalists who stood by us during our struggle, we give you over to your enemies. He hoped Massachusetts would not be a party to such a monstrous piece of injustice—not to say inhumanity. Turning to the third section we see that certain men would be disfranchised—they could not go to the ballot-box and throw their vote; but does any man doubt what the popular feeling of the South is to-day? Early in 1865 the South were ready to accept anything; but when Johnson in July, intimated that he was on their side, it resumed its old purpose to get on its feet and undertake to secure inside of the Union what it had failed to secure outside of it by battle. There is no case in history where a minority sat down and were contented to try their contest only once. You can go anywhere in the South and find the 8,000,000 people as thoroughly wedded to their ideas as we are. Wade Hampton to-day believes that to admit the negro to a share in the government, to teach the masses of the people, is dangerous. They have sacrificed wealth, social position, everything, and the Southern people do not pretend to believe this; but they do entertain such ideas. The effort of the North is to disarm the South from the possibility of fighting again. The North says we welcome you back, but you must not come in such a condition as to be competent to renew the fight. Is not that common sense? Compare South Carolina with ourselves, how many Bull Run's would it take to sweep the Declaration of Independence out of Massachusetts; it will take just as many defeats to sweep aristocracy out of South Carolina. The Southern people are thoroughly wedded to the idea that it would be anarchy to educate the negro. Wade Hampton is a man of convictions—he is sincere in his opinions, and he is a representative man. The North must be a North of convictions in order to meet the South on its own grounds. The South have not given up the battle—they have only changed the methods of carrying on their warfare. But he might be told that the third section of the amendment disfranchises these rebel leaders, and they could not vote; but it was a sham. Who believes that if Jeff Davis had subdued the North and carried out his boast that he would reconstruct Massachusetts like unto South Carolina, and disfranchised Charles Sumner, George S. Boutwell, John A. Andrew and ten thousand others like them, who believes, he said, that their influence in Massachusetts would be gone, although they could not go to the ballot-box. Who is going down into South Carolina to enforce these amendments. Supposing a man is elected to Congress from one of their districts and a remonstrance goes up that he was elected by 5,000 disfranchised votes, and if the man will vote right he will be admitted; but if not he will be rejected. If we were sure the Republicans were to always be the dominant party, we might be safe, but that may not be the case. Henry Wilson could not keep still all last Summer til he had voted in two Senators from Colorado, although they had the word white in their Constitution, because they would vote right on two important matters, and he is not an exception to the rule—he is an example. The third section cannot be executed. What are we going to do? We must put the elements of the government down there on our side. Do not put the parchment on our side; put the elements—for we cannot build the government down South by parchment amendments—we cannot smother Wade Hampton with printed paper. Mr. Wilson says we shall have a President to our mind in 1868. We are not sure of that. It would not take but the changing of 24,000 votes to elect Andy Johnson President, and that is perhaps not a hard matter to do with the help of the Federal patronage. Now, in view of these facts, said Mr. P., what is the remedy for this? It was to put 700,000 negro votes in the scale. He was in favor of disfranchising prominent rebels; but if he could give the negro the ballot, he would be willing to trust Wade Hampton. Mr. Phillips, in conclusion, urged that Massachusetts should not stultify herself by ratifying this amenment, and sat down amid great applause.

APPEAL FROM LOYAL SOUTHERNERS.

A PLAIN STATEMENT OF FACTS.

The Loyal Southern Association has issued the following Appeal to Congress and the people:

Whereas, the President of the United States has undertaken, without any authority of law, to inaugurate civil authority in the former States of Texas, Florida, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina, which States or territories, after the military surrender, were exclusively subject to the law-making power of the United States; and whereas, the President, by a direct and persistent usurpation of pretended power, has, by various acts and declarations, denied the power of Congress to interfere with his usurpation, thus attempting to repudiate and bring into subordination to the will of the Executive the supreme political authority of the nation, it has therefore become, in the opinion and judgment of the Association of Southern Loyalists now assembled at Washington, a matter of imperious political and national necessity for the government of the United States to settle at once, and forever, this conflicting claim of power between the executive and legislative departments of the government.

This Association maintains that the President, after repeated assertions by Congress as to its exclusive power, and in opposition to the expressed will of the loyal people of the nation at the ballot-box, still persists in a contumacy, that if allowed to prevail, will virtually unhinge the governmental framework of the United States under the Constitution.

The attempt to hold in subordination, and to keep under the ban of disability the Union element, and to hold it in subjection to the rebel element, is a political crime that can find no apology or excuse. It is as suicidal to the life of the nation as it is unjust and wicked in purpose. That portion of the Southern people who have voluntarily abjured their allegience to the government of the United States, and as the highest evidence of abjuration reviled and denounced and made war against it, and which had thus become the enemies of the Constitution and the Union, have been the people almost exclusively favored by Andrew Johnson. He has assisted to restore them to temporary power under pretended State organizations. He has diligently worked and co-operated to assist them in the exclusion of the Union people of the South from all participation in political power. He has made the support of his usurpation the test of his favoritism and encouragment, whilst opposition to it has drawn from him an exhibition of malicious animosity, such only as would characterize the acts of a depraved tyrant. It needs only to look at the murders and assassination of Union men and freedmen in the South to mark the atrocity of Andrew Johnson. As Commander-in-chief of the army and navy, with full power to enforce protection, he has purposely continued to avoid the discharge of the highest of all duties. Whilst the loyal people of the nation have been continuously distressed by the numberless cries coming up from the defenceless and helpless, the Executive, acting the part of a depraved partisan, has spurned all their appeals. With the volumes of evidence before him, to the effect, that his usurping policy and the encouragment of the rebel forces under it has reanimated them into murderous activity, he has still persisted. Rebuked by the voice and verdict of an indignant people, he still persists in his atrocious policy of giving the control of the South to rebels, as unrepentant of their past crimes, as the loyal people of the United States are determined to establish and maintain protective government.

It is maintained by this Association, by Congress, and by the loyal people of the United States, that Congress alone has the power, and the exclusive power to establish, maintain and secure, under laws to be enacted, protective republican government in these Southern States. We further maintain that no progress is possible to be made as long as Andrew Johnson shall be permitted to stand on his usurpation, defying the power of Congress, and heedless of the execution of the laws designed to afford protection. The law-making and executive power of the nation must be brought into harmony; and until this conjunction transpires no settlement of our difficulties can even be commenced. The concert of executive and legislative power is indispensable. We know of no other way than that the Executive, who disregards the legitimate jurisdiction of the law-making power, as well as the verdict of the people, should be displaced. The law of necessity, which dictates the preservation of protective republican government under the Constitution, is the highest of all public considerations.

It is further maintained by this Association, that the course of the President, in connection with his usurpation, has been as deleterious in results as it was illegal in its inception. We charge that the Executive has designedly and corruptly encouraged and invited to the support of his usurpation the rebel element of the South and the apologists of treason in the North, whilst he has reviled and attempted to subvert the Union element in both sections, and wickedly persisted in the attempt to place the Union element of the country in political subordination to the avowed enemies of the United States government.

We further maintain, that there are eight millions out of the twelve millions of people in the late slave States as loyal to the government of the United States, and the beneficent principles of the Constitution, as any eight millions in the North. The records of the War Department disclose the fact that these eight millions, under all the discouragements of their situation, have furnished more than three hundred thousand soldiers to the Union army. It is needless to discuss the thousand ways in which this Union element of the South has assisted the government and the soldier of the government in the late struggle. It remains for us to pronounce, that Andrew Johnson, armed with executive power, and bent on pressing his usurpation as a finality, has not only disregarded all claims of Union men, but wielded such power for purposes more atrocious than ever exhibited before by any person pretending to hold the reins of government.

Whilst we indignantly maintain that Andrew Johnson is and should be held responsible for the murders and assassinations, as well as the general abuse of Union men and freedmen in the South, we are painfully constrained to believe that the continuation of his course has been too much encouraged by the forbearing policy of Congress. That body has a duty to perform in vindicating its claim to power, as much so as in the performance of any other duty. To it is confided the high power, amongst other powers, to restrain and constrain every other department of the government to act within the sphere of its jurisdiction. It was armed with the power of impeachment, and made politically supreme for this very purpose. It is bound by its official oath to discharge this duty as well as all others. Painful as the task may be, and distressing to the sensibilities of our people, necessity imposes on Congress the requirements of maintaining affirmatively, and by all constitutional means, its political prerogatives.

Protective Republican government, we maintain, is the common birthright of the American people. All questions on this subject were foreclosed on the adoption of the Constitution. Under that clause which provides that "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government," there is a duty imposed of a very comprehensive character. This clause of the supreme law deals with States as States, with territories, as well as States, in a territorial condition. It embraces a war power as well as political power. It deals with all forces in contumacy with the protective features of the Constitution. It is the auxiliary power confided to Congress in the adoption of all means necessary and proper to maintain and preserve the recognized rights of citizenship. When it is considered that in connection with this the military power of the nation, including the President as Commander-in-chief, was designedly made subordinate to the law-making power, we may be led to know that the framers of the Constitution designed to make the Congressional tribunal of States practically supreme, at least so far as regards the right and power of enforcing the principle of protection. The American people will never consent to allow this power in their representatives to be usurped or displaced by the Executive will, nor will they complacently allow their representatives to submit to any such usurpation on any pretences whatsoever.

This Association again repeat and again urge that the power and the will of the loyal people of this nation, speaking through their loyal representatives, must be vindicated. Without this there can be no settlement between the loyal and contumacious forces now maintaining antagonisms that are irreconcilable. We know as well as we can morally know anything, that, while Congress stands firmly on this high and impregnable ground of "rights to all and justice to all," that body will be sustained.

On the foregoing declarations we, the members of this Association, take the appeal to Congress and the loyal people of the nation.

Washington, January 12, 1867.

On motion, the foregoing document was approved by the association, and ordered to be signed by the President and Secretary and published. Thomas J. Durant, President.

D. H. Bingham, Secretary.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1867.

Special Premium.

THE STANDARD FOR 1867.

$100 AND SIX PER CENT. INTEREST IN GOLD.

We have received from a gentleman well known as an earnest, influential friend of freedom, a One Hundred Dollar Five-Twenty Government Bond, with six per cent. interest-bearing coupons attached, payable in gold, which he desires us to offer as a special premium to whoever will send us the largest number of subscribers for the year 1867.

He says in his note: "I want you to offer in the next STANDARD, as a premium, to whoever will get the most subscribers to it for the year 1867, a $100 Government Bond, and the interest. I send it to you, so that the person who earns it shall be sure of getting it and the accrued gold interest. I do not want any conditions added, except that the money for the paper must be paid either when the subscription is sent in, or before the first of July. There may be many or few, but the more the better, and the one who gets the *most* shall have the premium, whether the number be *ten* or *one thousand!*"

We are not at liberty to give the name of the donor, but he adds: "You may say it comes from one who would not miss the STANDARD for all the other papers he knows."

The Bond is in our possession, and we shall pay it to the one from whom, on the first of July, we shall have received the largest number of new subscribers. Some one will be sure of receiving it. Competitors for the Bond are authorized to retain twenty-five per cent. (75 cents each subscription) commission.

Persons competing for the premium will mention the fact, in sending subscriptions, to be noted on our books.

Of course ten subscribers can be readily procured by almost any one, and a much larger number, without great difficulty. With the important accession of WENDELL PHILLIPS as a special editorial contributor, the services of other able contributors, and a regular correspondence from Washington, Boston and Philadelphia superior to that of any weekly journal in the country, the claims of THE STANDARD are such as our friend ascribes to it and encourages by his liberal donation.

We will also send, post-paid, a large, beautifully bound volume of 562 pages, of Speeches and Lectures by WENDELL PHILLIPS, to each person renewing a subscription and sending one new subscriber ($6 00) or two new subscribers.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION:

Single copy, one year, - - - -	$3 00
Ten copies, one year, each - - -	2 50
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All remittances should be addressed,

A. M. POWELL,
Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard,
39 Nassau street, New York.

THE DILEMMA.

CONGRESS, by its own folly, is apparently as much at sea on the subject of reconstruction as at the opening of last session. The disgraceful expedient of the last session now fetters the work attempted in this. After a prolonged debate, Mr. Stevens's enabling act has been recommitted. Good words have been spoken. No step forward has been taken. If the infamous Amendment, to which Mr. Stevens's enabling act was originally appended, could also be recommitted, and buried beyond the possibility of resurrection, we should be less inclined to complain. The equitable provisions of the enabling act, it was affirmed, would save the country from the acknowledged dangers inherent in the Amendment. But most of the Northern States, through the blindness, stupidity, or rascality of political leaders, stand to-day committed by their Legislatures to the "swindle;" while the protection proposed by Mr. Stevens is denied. We do not know what will next be pressed by Radical members, but the vote on the recommittal of Mr. Stevens's bill has a doubtful look for the future.

Two successive mornings this week, Presidential vetoes, of the usual type, have been served up to us. For everything in the way of impartial legislation involving the interests of the colored race in reconstruction, a veto is in store. With a President entitled by loyalty and personal fitness to the Executive chair, which Andrew Johnson long since ceased to be, the difficulties of reconstruction would doubtless be considerable. But they would not, as at present, be insurmountable. In view of the fact that a two-third vote is indispensable in both Houses, the disagreement which exists in the Reconstruction Committee is as much of a deadlock as that between the President and Congress as a whole.

Meanwhile, with or without his vetoes, Johnson is master of the situation. His so-called State governments are in full blast, loyalty throughout the South is proscribed, and red-handed traitors are reinstated in their old position as a ruling class. The blacks have not in many cases even the freedom to work. They are subject to innumerable outrages, are murdered by tens of thousands, while the auction block and whipping post, despite of Congress, Gen. Grant, and Civil Rights bills, are re-established as "legalized institutions."

Never had a body of men a more significant admonition from their constituents to go forward and meet the responsibilities of a great crisis by fulfilling the demands of justice and impartial freedom, than Congress in the elections of last Autumn. That the men have thus far proved themselves sadly unequal to their responsibilities, the condemnatory truthfulness of the eloquent appeal and statement of facts which we print in another column, from the true and tried Southern loyalists, is abundant evidence.

Another month of the present session remains. Again we urge, that the first thing for you to do, men of Congress, is to IMPEACH and DEPOSE ANDREW JOHNSON. To this, or to an ignominious surrender, you will be forced at last. We warn you that to delay or postpone longer this nearest duty is fraught with many dangers. The rebel Chief should not be allowed by you additional time to prepare and strengthen himself, in anticipation of future contingencies. To tolerate in office at any time an incumbent who has flagrantly, notoriously abused his trust, is unwise and demoralizing. To continue in office at this time, and in our present circumstances, a President who has become the terror of dependent loyalists, the recognized leader of traitors, and the champion of murderers, thieves, prostitutes and counterfeiters, is to deliberately expose the country again to the ravages of war, to offer a premium to rebellion, to gratuitously perpetuate oppression and crime, and to put in jeopardy the experiment of free government. FORWARD, THEN, TO IMPEACHMENT. Reconstruction afterward.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society took place last week. The attendance was full, and the enthusiasm as ardent and undying as ever. Every one present seemed to feel that there was a momentous work for Abolitionists to do. Though the speaking was fully up to the level of any previous gathering, still there was an atmosphere of *work* pervading the sessions, not so uniformly witnessed. All the speeches were close to the business in hand. In this respect, this annual meeting closely resembled some of its predecessors of twenty and thirty years ago. So large a number of the old friends of the cause were present as to call forth from Mr. Foster the remark that there were few faces in the audience that he had not known for twenty-five or thirty years. With the single exception of a disputed assertion relative to the debate of the last annual meeting, the utmost harmony prevailed. In relation to the urgent issues of the hour, all present saw eye to eye.

Mr. Wright's opening speech and resolution gave the tone to the discussions; the indispensable guarantee of the ballot, accompanied by land and education, was the demand of every speaker. As to methods, this meeting showed that the Radicals of Massachusetts had fully made up their minds both as to the President and the Supreme Court. Action, decision, immediate action in both these directions was insisted on.

The sessions were long, and continued crowded till the close.

The Ladies' Anniversary Festival was well attended, and the pecuniary results will probably reach about the same amount as last year, enabling the American Anti-Slavery Society to meet the close of the present Society-year, in May, free from debt. Speeches were made by Mr. Sargent and Mr. Phillips, and at intervals Mrs. Frohock delighted the audience with her happy and powerful execution on the great organ, putting the Abolitionists for a third time under great indebtedness to her for generous and earnest efforts in their behalf. Some songs volunteered, and the sale of several pikes, the gift of Benjamin Snow, Jr., of Fitchburg, gave variety to the evening. They were an exact copy of those used by John Brown, and were taken from the Southerners at Fort Wagner, showing how well they heeded the lesson John Brown taught them, the use of such a weapon for undisciplined masses. Fortunately, no such "masses" rallied to their flag. The negroes chose the Stars and Stripes and breech-loading rifles, leaving us, in these captured trophies, the evidence that the South learned its John Brown lesson too late to be of any use except that of teaching his despisers that contempt was no part of the feeling he roused in Southern bosoms. About a dozen of these trophies were disposed of, and at the usual hour the assembly broke up. Strengthened and cheered by this interview and opportunity for comparison of views, the friends of the negro gird themselves for another year of battle in his behalf. May they gather next January under a less doubtful sky.

THE PENNSYLVANIA FESTIVAL.

THE Committee of Arrangements of this Festival are happy to report that the proceeds amounted to more than $600, and that the net profit will be about $385. The expenses were heavier than was anticipated, and much heavier than would be incurred in a similar effort again, as the experience of the Managers has taught them how these might be diminished.

In addition to the acknowledgments made in the last STANDARD, the Managers return their thanks to Mr. Osborne and Mr. Dorsey, for their aid in the refreshment department, also to Mr. Abraham L. Pennock, Jr., for a valuable donation of beautiful flowers, which adorned the table, and at the close of the evening were readily sold to eager purchasers.

M. G.

WENDELL PHILLIPS will deliver the opening lecture of the Brooklyn Fraternity Course, upon National Affairs, in the Academy of Music on Tuesday evening, Feb. 5th. He will be followed by HENRY WARD BEECHER on the 13th; by Mrs. STANTON on the 16th; and WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON on the 26th of February. Our readers in Brooklyn, and in this city, will do well to secure tickets for the Course, which promises to be one of unusual interest. Reserved seats may be had of S. Dyas & Co., 246 Fulton street, Brooklyn, and at the *Tribune* Office at $2.00 for the course. Single admission, fifty cents.

A telegram, received as we go to press, announces the serious illness of Mrs. Phillips. Mr. Phillips will, therefore, be unable to lecture in Brooklyn on Tuesday evening next. Mr. Beecher will probably give the lecture on that evening.

GEN. SHERIDAN was asked recently, by the Mayor of Galveston, for consent for the people of that city to bestow the honor of a public escort of the remains of the rebel Gen. Johnston from the steamer to the railroad, upon their arrival in that place. He replied, very properly, as follows:

"SIR: I respectfully decline to grant your request. I have too much regard for the memory of the brave men who died to preserve our government to authorize Confederate demonstrations over the remains of any one who attempted to destroy it."

At Houston, however, Gen. Sheridan, not being present, thousands of people met the body at the depot, and escorted it to the Female Seminary, where it remained for some time in state.

IN the absence of Mr. C. K. Whipple, the Secretary of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, detained by sickness, and of our usual reporter, Mr. Yerrinton, we are indebted mainly to the Boston *Journal* and *Advertiser* for the report of the proceedings of the Annual Meeting which we present to our readers this week.

WE print elsewhere an address delivered by Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton before the Judiciary Committee, in the Assembly Chamber at Albany. It is an able and timely presentation of the right of the women and the disfranchised colored men of this State to a voice in the forthcoming State Constitutional Convention.

THE SUPREME COURT of Massachusetts has affirmed the validity of the Anti-Slavery clauses in the will of our lately-deceased generous and brave coadjutor, FRANCIS JACKSON.

THE Johnstown (N. Y.) *Independent* of the 25th inst., announces that Charles Lenox Remond, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Miss Louisa Jacobs, and Susan B. Anthony will address an Equal Rights Convention, on the afternoons and evenings of Thursday and Friday of this week at Johnstown, Fulton County, N. Y.

WE are without our regular Washington Correspondence this week, owing to the absence of our correspondent from the city. It is expected that his excellent letters will be resumed at an early date.

THE Athens (Ohio) *Messenger*, alluding to THE STANDARD, says:

"For twenty-seven years this admirable paper has sustained itself in the vindication of anti-slavery principles. In all that time, in good report as well as evil, it has never dropped the flag under which it sailed from the first. It has lived to see its principles adopted and vindicated by the governing party of the country, and to witness the time long prayed for when it would be no disgrace to any man to be called an Abolitionist. The paper is in every respect one of the very best printed. It is edited with marked ability, its tone and spirit bold, yet dignified, and its selections are such as will not fail to please the most fastidious reader."

PERSONAL.

Hon. Gerrit Smith has contributed $500 to aid the Cretans.

One Michael Pryzbylowiez wants to go to Congress from Kansas.

The Rev. Henry A. Wise, Jr., has been appointed Rector of Trinity Church in Harrisonburg, Va.

Mr. E. R. Parker (colored) is announced as an independent candidate for Mayor of Alleghany City, Pa.

A Mrs. Woolworth has been dismissed from the Congregational Church in Winsted, Conn., for obtaining a divorce from her husband "without Bible cause."

Nathaniel P. Willis, a man of marked distinction as an American poet, popular writer and journalist, died at Idlewild on Sunday evening the 20th ult.

If Mrs. J. W. Horton, late of New Orleans, is still in this city she will much oblige some personal friends who are very desirous of a personal interview with her, by sending her address to this office.

Abby Kelley Foster, though constantly suffering as a chronic invalid, was able to be present at the Festival, and the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, held in Boston on Thursday evening, and Friday of last week. She addressed the meeting briefly on Friday.

Charles Lenox Remond, we are glad to learn, is now in Central New York, lecturing upon universal suffrage. The Little Falls (N. Y.) *Journal and Courier* of the 17th inst., announced that he would speak in Little Falls on the 22d inst., and gave a list of several other engagements in Herkimer County. It also announced that Miss Louisa Jacobs had arrived in the county and would take part in the series of meetings announced for Mr. Remond.

Prof. Agassiz is to deliver a series of lectures, commencing the first week of February, before the Association for the advancement of Science and Art, of this city. The subjects chosen are as follows: "The Geological Constitution of the Valley of the Amazon." "The Water Basin of the Amazon and its Banks." "The Ancient Glaciers in the Tropics." "The Fisheries of the Amazon." "The Land Animals of South America." "The Monkeys and Mankind."

Prof. Unger, the eminent Viennese botanist and palæontologist has been recently examining the bricks used by the ancient Egyptians in the construction of the Pyramids, and more particularly those of the Pyramid of Dashour. He has discovered that the mud of which they were made contained not only a quantity of animal and vegetable matter, but also fragments of many manufactured substances, leading to the conclusion that Egypt enjoyed a high degree of civilization upward of 5,000 years ago.

On Thursday, the 27th ult., Victor Hugo gave, at his residence, Hauteville House, his annual Christmas *fête* to forty-two poor children of Guernsey, including Channel Islanders, French, English, and Irish. The dinner was followed by a distribution of clothing, and of toys from a Christmas tree. M. Hugo made some very feeling remarks on the occasion, and the children appeared to enjoy themselves greatly. A weekly dinner is also given by the poet and novelist to twenty-two poor children.

William Wells Brown is to lecture in the Philadelphia course, at National Hall, on Thursday, Feb. 7th. His lecture is thus noticed in the Boston *Traveller* of the 15th inst.:

The seventh lecture in the John Brown course was delivered at the North Russell st. Church, last evening, by WM. WELLS BROWN, on the Heroism and Fidelity of the Colored Men in the Rebellion. The subject was well chosen, as the lecturer has just written a work entitled, "The Negro in the Rebellion." The audience appeared to take deep interest in the discourse, as the speaker eloquently portrayed the bravery displayed by colored men in the battles of Fort Wagner, Olustee, Honey Hill, Milliken's Bend and Port Hudson. The lecture was well received and often applauded throughout its delivery.

The Des Moines (Iowa) *Register* of the 19th inst. says: "The tribe of John, of the Hutchinson family, afforded our citizens about as much amusement last evening as could well be crowded into one evening. The court house was packed full, and if we may judge from the frequent storms of applause that burst forth from the audience, the entertainment was highly appreciated. Of course those who are familiar with the different tribes of this numerous family, will recognize in their songs and in the manner of John himself, all those characteristics which have marked the family from their first appearance in public. Temperance and Anti-Slavery have been the burthen of their songs, at all times, while thorough Yankeeism has characterized their manner. We would not ask them to drop either; for it is pleasanter thus to recognize in them these familiar and characteristic traits. A person who has heard the Hutchinsons once, for some reason feels an irresistible desire to hear them again.

THE BOSTON FESTIVAL.

A LETTER TO A FRIEND.

MY DEAR H——: So you had not forgotten our delightful evening at the Anti-Slavery Festival in Music Hall eight years ago, and wished you were coming on from New York to enjoy this one? To one whose whole soul exults in the marching on of this glorious cause, this was a festival indeed. "I was too happy to sleep," said one of the ladies next morning. At an early hour Thursday evening, we passed under an evergreen arch at the outer entrance to Music Hall, and were soon among the greetings of many old Anti-Slavery friends, in the palatial spaciousness of the elegant hall. The seats were arranged for the pleasantest convenience, both of a sitting audience and a promenade. We chanced to take a position where that magnificent piece of furniture, the great organ, was seen to the finest effect. Its silver-throated pipes were made to discourse soft music, as if not to disturb the eager flow of conversation. The thundering cataracts of sound of which it is capable, were permitted to slumber on this occasion.

Mrs. C. M. Severance engaged Miss Holley to take her place "at the receipt of custom," after 9 o'clock, as she was obliged to go in the West Newton train. Her table was over on the side where, you remember, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe sat, "more fashionably attired" than you had ever seen her. This time there was no tea nor coffee to upset, like that unfortunate cup that then went over her nice drab moire-antique. Mrs. L. Maria Child was not present, but the subscription paper on the table was headed with her honored name and fifty dollars. She is out in her cottage among the snows of Wayland, bringing from the "hived honey of her sweet memories" such pretty stories as that of "Uncle Joseph," you read in THE STANDARD a fortnight ago.

You would have been pleased to see Mrs. Ralph Waldo Emerson moving cordially about among the company. Thoreau, who worshipped truth and pure sincerity, declared, in his original and expressive way, that he loved to write to her, for she would "neither lie nor steal," a tribute Thoreau rarely paid to anybody. Mrs. Theodore Parker was kept at home by illness, but generously sent us a hundred dollars.

Among the most earnest and warmly-interested friends on the floor, was a native of classic Greece. His liberal contribution is evidence of his appreciation of the kinship of liberty in all lands, and may be also a grateful token for the eloquent appeal Mr. Wendell Phillips lately made for the relief of the suffering women and children in the island of Crete.

Hon. Gerrit Smith, whose benevolences, like the stars of heaven and sands on the sea-shore, cannot be numbered, has sent $500 for Dr. Howe to take out to the Cretans—another illustration of the Christian sentiment of the Abolitionists, "Our country is the world, and all mankind our countrymen."

When Miss Holley gave the little daughter of her Polish friend Gerrit Smith's photograph, the other day, the father caught the name, and instantly brightening with enthusiasm, exclaimed: "O, yes! I know who Gerrit Smith is. He gave a thousand dollars to Poland!" Do you recall the pretty scene of Mrs. Follen and the basket of flowers she carried away with such delight that evening, eight years ago? How little did we dream, amid those bright faces, touched with

"The light that never was on sea or shore,"

that the nation was on the brink of a terrible war! that those fathers and mothers, then dropping their votive gifts to freedom for the slave into the baskets on the tables, were so soon to have their brave, noble, beautiful boys demanded of them for battle, prison and death, in the holy cause of liberty! How tenderly eloquent was the very presence, in the Anti-Slavery meetings yesterday, of near relatives of those young, heroic martyrs, whose names are sacred and precious evermore to the whole freedom-loving world, Col. R. G. Shaw, Lieut. Lowell Putnam, and Col. Charles Lowell.

Mr. Benjamin Snow, Jr., of Fitchburg, besides a hundred dollars, contributed twenty-five rebel pikes taken from Fort Wagner, to be sold as relics. Mr. Phillips, with his happy eloquence and grace, offered them for sale, in a speech of great point, beauty and instruction.

The meetings, all day Friday and in the evening, were full of life and spirit. The salient points of the discussion called out in hearty emphasis Henry C. Wright's old "Hear! hear!" which fell gladly on our ears. William Wells Brown boldly asserted, as a social fact, the superiority of his class, when he lived at the South, over that of Andrew Johnson. The upper class of servants looked down upon "poor whites."

You would have been proud of the Anti-Slavery platform to see sitting there a man with one of the blackest faces under the sun, looking up glad, grateful, radiant and trusting, to hear the most eloquent lips in America demanding the rights of his race. The auction of the Fort Wagner pikes was carried on in an amusing speech by Mr. Edwin Thompson. He alluded to the ancestors of the Adamses being ancient Britons—cannibals—and said some of them seemed going back in the same direction. He said the present days of Anti-Slavery were very different from its early ones. He remembered a meeting that was actually held in a stable in this city—a literal parrallel in Anti-Slavery history to the humble birth of Christianity. He asked where was South-side Adams, and all those slavery-defending ministers now?

It was this Mr. Thompson Frederick Douglass spoke of New Year's Day, as the man who recited Whittier's poem, "Our Countrymen in Chains," twenty years ago in New Bedford. Douglass heard it wonderingly, and bought the book, and learned the piece, and had loved to repeat it ever since. He spoke most gratefully of the black man's debt to Whittier in helping bring the Day of Emancipation. How your mother would have enjoyed hearing that tribute, and all Douglass said that day. As Mr. E. D. Draper of Hopedale said in his admiration, "He pulled every string." It was the colored men's meeting to celebrate the Proclamation of Emancipation in Tremont Temple.

Let us come back now to the meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in Mercantile Hall, Summer st., and listen to Francis Watkins Harper's eloquent indignation at the way colored women are still rudely pushed from the street cars by pro-slavery hate in Philadelphia. Don't it deserve another name than "*brotherly love?*"

Mrs. A. K. Foster's friends were rejoiced that she was able to be at the meeting, and even make a little address. Some of us remembered Theodore Parker's sermon in which he spoke of her once clear voice having grown hoarse in denouncing the pro-slavery wickedness of ministers and churches.

James Freeman Clarke made a beautiful speech in the evening meeting full of sweet encouragement for the Society to go on. He said he came there because he agreed with the convictions of this Society, that its work was not done. It was still imperatively needed to destroy slavery. It did not require but *a little leaven* to work through an immense mass of dough.

He told an anecdote of old Dr. Johnson. On his visit to Scotland, Boswell took him to see his father, Squire Boswell, who was as violent a Whig as the great Cham was Tory. Boswell was naturally anxious about the meeting, hoping to avoid a collision of these political differences. The conversation led on well, till Oliver Cromwell's name was mentioned; when Squire Boswell declared he was the greatest man England ever had. "What did Cromwell *do* sir," growled out Dr. Johnson, "Do?" said the Scotch Squire, "He taught Kings they had a *crick* in their necks that could be broken!" "So," said Mr. Clarke, "if the President can be impeached, it will be proven that the Constitution can bear every strain—for it has been tried in every *other* point."

Mr. Phillips made the grand closing speech of the evening, and yet so clear and simple a child could understand it. When he had finished Mr. Clarke was heard to say to the handsome, intelligent boy (a Lowell) who had clapped with enthusiasm along through it, "Now, Charley, you can always remember you have heard Wendell Phillips!" And to the sister of Lieut. Lowell Putnam by his side, who had been listening with evident delight, Mr. C. added warmly, "He *is* a fine speaker! I do not believe there *is* a finer!"

Boston, Jan. 26, 1867. C. F. P.

JOSEPH SOUTHWICK.

ON the last Anniversary of the death of his friend Theodore Parker (May 10th), JOSEPH SOUTHWICK departed this life at his residence in Grantville, Mass.

No place is more fitting for this mention than these columns. The NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD numbers Mr. Southwick among its subscribers from the beginning; and the clerk still writes his familiar name on the last copy. Its successive editors were all his friends, and ever welcome household guests.

The prized friendship of David Lee and L. Maria Child was cherished to the last. Mrs. Child writes: "We shall always remember him with respect and affection, as the generous and steadfast friend of truth and freedom." "You must find solace, my friend, that the companion of your life was such a *good* man; one whose life here was such a wise preparation for the life hereafter."

In all the early years of the Anti-Slavery struggle, when Boston was the Jerusalem to which its pilgrims gathered from the country round, for testimony and festival, the hospitable doors of his mansion in Summer st., like those of Francis Jackson in Hollis st., and Mr. Garrison's in Dix Place, ever stood open with cordial invitation to their utmost entertainment.

From his house George Thompson was taken in the disguise of a muffled invalid into a close carriage, when he had to flee for his life from the pro-slavery mob of 1835.

Fugitive slaves were sheltered there, and everything that his generous heart and liberal hand could bestow was freely given by him, and his equally devoted wife, to the cause they both loved and honored with their whole souls. He was President, for years, of the New England Anti-Slavery Society and contributed thousands of dollars to its funds and those of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

His love of humanity, and his wish to see freedom given to the slave, took him from his large business on the Kennebec in Maine, to Philadelphia, in the Winter of 1833, to attend the meeting that formed the American Anti-Slavery Society.

He always stood by the side of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and in earnest support of the noblest paper ever published in America, if not the whole world—the *Liberator*. Mr. Garrison was present at his funeral and spoke his warm appreciation of the life-long friendship existing between them, and the faithful services to philanthropy which his dear friend had so truly performed in his years of health and fortune.

Mr. Southwick's declining years were passed quietly amid the rural scenes and occupations he loved so well, varied with a Summer fishing excursion with some friend. Once down the coast to Grand Island with Theodore Parker,

All who knew him in his Grantville home will remember the benevolent, musing aspect with which he busied himself among his apple trees, bee-hives, pigeons and strawberry vines.

In this great snow storm, a touching remembrance of his kind-hearted presence revives, as the little flock of snow birds come flitting and hopping over the deep drifts about the door where he used to scatter food for them.

C. F. P.

January, 1867.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, January 27th, 1867.

FORTUNATELY, Miss Anna E. Dickinson was well enough, week before last, to give us her lecture called "Something to Do," in the "Fraternity" course, and a very fine lecture it was; the best of hers, in fact, that I have ever listened to.

The title—like most of the titles that Mr. Emerson chooses for his lectures—tells you nothing about the subject. The lecture is a powerful and impressive plea for women; for a removal of the disabilities, restrictions, limitations, at present imposed upon women, and for fair treatment of them as human beings. Upon this subject Miss Dickinson is perfectly at home. She knows the evil; she knows the remedy. And, having fairly practised her own preaching, having applied herself to the work for which she felt that God had given her courage and ability, in spite of the fact that this work required her to step out of that squirrel-cage called women's "appropriate sphere," she is entitled to call upon the rest of us to take part in this most important work, and to add our influence and action to another and a greater Emancipation movement. We Abolitionists have been laboring thirty-five years for one-sixth part of the American population. The time has come for a more comprehensive movement, though the former is not yet crowned with full success, and ought not by any means to be abandoned. Other chains, bonds of tradition, of superstition, of custom, of opinion, limit the action and impair the welfare of one-half the human family. Let us at least help those who press forward to break those bonds.

The Music Hall was crowded to hear Miss Dickinson, and never was an audience more hushed in earnest attention. Often, there was manifest a strong desire to applaud some deep thought, vivid image or piquant expression; but the applause as often checked itself in mid volley, not to lose a word of what the speaker was going on to say. I trust she may give this lecture in many places, and may encourage by her words and her look many girls and women to make a trial whether some work to which they feel an inward call will not produce better results, for themselves and all around them, than that life of indolence or of uncongenial occupation to which they have been assigned by the traditions of the elders.

Last week, our legislative Committee on Federal Relations gave a hearing to those who wished to speak in regard to the Constitutional Amendment, a measure which Massachusetts has not yet acted on. I hoped to have had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Walker, the colored member of that Committee, sitting in the exercise of legislative authority in the very place where, thirty-one years ago, I saw George Lunt using and grossly *misusing*, the same official station. I could not but remember the supercilious arrogance displayed by that man in silencing Charles Follen, George Bond, and others of the noblest citizens of Boston, simply because they were pleading for the poor and weak. Now, not only has the race that he was then persecuting obtained an encouraging sight of the promised land of equal rights, they are "marching on" towards the possession of it; now, not only do colored men act on legislative committees, but they find the times so changed that, at the hearing given by the Committee on Federal Relations, not one voice appeared in advocacy of the side formerly taken by Mr. Lunt, but every speaker opposed the Constitutional Amendment as falling short of what justice and expediency now unite in demanding for the colored race.

Mr. Walker was not present on this occasion. But excellent speeches were made by Mr. Phillips and by Dr. Randolph of New Orleans, maintaining the necessity of making justice the basis of any Amendment of the Constitution, and pointing out the direct bearing of the provision now offered upon the maintenance of *caste*, and the continuance of that aristocratic system in the South which led to the rebellion. The intelligent audience which filled the Representatives Hall showed by their applause their entire sympathy with this view of the situation. Five speakers earnestly opposed the Amendment. No one had a word to say in its favor.

A severe cold, which prevented your correspondent from writing a week ago, prevented also his attendance at the Thirty-third Anti-Slavery Subscription Festival, and at the Annual Meeting, on the following day, of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

The Subscription Festival, held as usual at the Music Hall, seems to have been less largely attended than last year. I learn, however, that the funds paid in will not fall far short of the money raised at that time.

The Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society is represented by the papers as having been well attended and full of interest. I heard special praise bestowed upon the speeches of Wendell Phillips and James Freeman Clarke, but you will of course have an official report of the good things said by them and others.

Dr. Randolph of New Orleans gave a lecture, last evening in the Boston Theatre for the benefit of the freedmen of his own city. A large and good audience came together and heard with great interest the views of this competent and trustworthy witness on the condition of affairs at the South relative to the *status* of the negro, and the means of bringing about a recognition of his equal rights as a man and a citizen. If the policy inaugurated by Gen. Butler had been carried out, he said, all would have gone well, and there would have been no need of agitating the question of negro rights. Now, special efforts were necessary not only to establish the rights of the colored people as citizens, but to obtain free schools to educate their children. Even the existing laws in favor of this class could not be enforced. The speaker did not expect permanent peace until the Union should be reconstructed on a basis which guaranteed and enforced all the rights of man, without distinction of color.

NORTH.

WE are permitted to make the following extract of a letter to our friend Miss HOLLEY, from the Rev. ALEXANDER CRUMMELL, of Liberia, Africa:

EXTRACT.

MONROVIA, Liberia, October, 1867.

Thanks for your interest in my girls. Failing to secure them admission into the College, I have undertaken their education myself, and am now endeavoring to push them forward. The eldest shows zealous interest in Euclid, Moral Philosophy and History, and I am endeavoring to put her forward in Latin and English literature. I do not regret bringing her home, but regret, nevertheless, the loss of the large advantages of Oberlin.

Female education is *the* need of this country. Here, beyond all other countries, woman is lower and more degraded than her sisters elsewhere. If, as a colony of Christians, we can raise woman, then we shall succeed in establishing society on this coast, and planting X. Y. S. C. H. and His holy religion, and this, it seems to me, is the great mission of black Americans to the West Coast of Africa. In fulfilling this mission, divers and serious are our difficulties; but we bring, I think, enough of American spirit and American hope with us to do our duty in our day and generation, and to transmit the same qualities to our children for the same great end. One of our greatest difficulties will be the adjustment of the relations of the *civilised* black man to his heathen and benighted brother. The greatest problem of all colonies in juxtaposition with inferior peoples. But fortunately we return here at such an early period from the time of our fathers exile from Africa, that we all bring back the fresh remembrance of affinity and kinship to the native tribes; and, thus the jars of races is measurably hushed, and the opportunities of Providence promptly seized upon.

I see that not as yet, notwithstanding the awful and significant judgments of Almighty God, have the American people come to the settlement of a similar difficulty, generated by the presence of the negro amid your population; and so it seems another "seal is to be broken," and another "trumpet to sound," and perchance another "woe" to be passed through, ere you reach fully the haven of peace. I pray God it may not be thus! But surely the day of human brotherhood and the equality of man *has* dawned and it must be realized on American soil, as elsewhere. God grant its full reality may be reached in peace!

The STANDARD comes quite regularly, and I prize it not only for the accurate information it gives us of events occurring concerning the black man, but for the refreshing *resume* and the choice bits of literature which its two last pages always afford us. You cannot tell how refreshing such things are to one living in a benighted, heathen country. When the mail arrives here, you make me feel, at least once a month, quite civilized.

ALEX. CRUMMELL.

THE SUPREME COURT AND CONGRESS.

LETTER FROM COL. CHARLES E. MOSS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 21, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

I NOTICE an article from your paper published in the *Chronicle*, and signed by Wendell Phillips, attacking the Supreme Court. It seems to me that Congress is the body that deserves censure, and not the Court. That Court has decided all that is required to authorize the most radical reconstruction. It decided, in 1862, the rebellion to be an organized insurrection of States, and not the act of individuals; and that the General government has power to exercise belligerent rights over said States. Now, Congress has not yet taken that position. Again, the Supreme Court admits negroes to practice at its bar. Congress has not yet made negroes clerks, or given them any position in its organization, except it may be that of waiter. When the "swindling" Congress, as Mr. Phillips terms it, shall get up to as advanced a position as the Court, it will be soon enough to denounce that tribunal.

Let us take the Cummings test oath case. The Constitution of Missouri provided that no person shall be permitted to preach the Gospel or teach religion until he had taken and subscribed an oath that he had not run away to avoid a draft, and had not done several other things. The court properly and righteously held that such a provision was invalid. The opinion on that question is what we ought to rejoice over. It says that, "In the pursuit of happiness, all avocations, all honors, all positions, are alike open to all men, and, in the protection of those rights, all men are equal before the law."

When has the Republican party adopted as radical a position as that? That party, to be sure, voted for suffrage in the District of Columbia, but have not gone beyond that. The truth is, the Supreme Court will, next Winter, decide the negro a voter in every State in this Union. Six of the nine judges can be counted upon for that position. The effect will be, the Supreme Court will enfranchise the negro, and the infamous Constitutional Amendment adopted by the Republican party will authorize their disfranchisement. That is what the judgment of history will be. I hope our friends will labor to encourage the Court up to such a position. The Court admits the negro to be a citizen, and will certainly decide him to be a voter, in spite of State laws and State Constitutions. Let us all labor to present all the legal arguments in support of such a position, and educate public opinion up to that position. In that way we may accomplish much. By denouncing the Court in advance, do we not endanger our chances of success? CHARLES E. MOSS.

THE PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATIONS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 23, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

YESTERDAY the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee reported a bill to the House, providing, among other things, for legalizing all Proclamations of the President issued up to the 1st December, 1865. The bill was referred back to said Committee with instructions to report it back at any time on giving one day's notice. I presume, from that action, a serious effort will be made to pass the measure; if so, it is about time the Radicals of the nation should give their leaders to understand that they will be held accountable for such action. The effect of such a measure would be to embarrass the question of the reconstruction of the rebellious States. It would do much toward recognizing the rebel provisional governments. The Supreme Court, bad as it is claimed to be, has never attempted to do so much to aid the attainment of rebel hopes as that bill proposes to do. Let our Republican leaders beware of committing any more blunders on the subject of reconstruction. They have already done enough in that line. CHARLES E. MOSS.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AND EDUCATION.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

HON. JOHN R. KELSO, of Missouri, has this day offered the only sensible measure of reconstruction yet proposed in Congress. It is in the shape of a proposition to amend the Constitution, conferring suffrage upon every citizen above the age of 21 years, and, also, compelling each State to establish a free school system and directing Congress to carry it into effect in all States that neglect or refuse to do so. That amendment would open the ballot to women and negroes and lay the foundation for providing for the education of all the youth in the land.

That so sensible a proposition for the settlement of our national troubles will pass this session, can scarcely be expected. Still, the principles of that proposition will eventually be adopted or the nation suffer the penalties of injustice to a large class of citizens. I find forty-five Members in the House, and fifteen Senators professedly in favor of women suffrage. That is a very strong party and will eventually triumph.

C. E. Moss.

THE Yates Co. (N. Y.) *Chronicle* contains a brief notice of an Equal Rights Convention held at Pen Yan on Tuesday and Wednesday of last week. It says: The principal speakers were Mr. Pillsbury and Miss Bessie Bisbee, a new auxiliary in the field of Reform and Progress, quite young in years, but we should say of very fine promise. Her address on Tuesday evening, advocating the right of her own sex to the ballot, was heard with the deepest attention, by a large and most intelligent audience. At times she seemed to hold her hearers entranced by the power and pathos of her appeals.

On Wednesday afternoon the Convention reassembled, and the following resolution was offered and advocated by Mr. Pillsbury, Mr. Kingsbury also taking part in the proceedings:

Whereas, All just governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed, and a State Constitution should originate with, and be assented to by a majority of the people, including as well those whom it disfranchises, as those whom it invests with the suffrage; and

Whereas, The New York State Constitutional Conventions of 1801 and 1821 were composed of delegates elected by both the enfranchised and disfranchised classes, and the same was true of the Rhode Island Constitutional Convention of 1842. And

Whereas, There is nothing in the present Constitution of the State of New York to prevent women from voting for, or being elected as delegates to the Convention about to assemble to revise the Constitution of the State; therefore

Resolved, That we recommend to the people to elect their delegates to said Convention *irrespective of sex or complexion;* and we shall call on the Legislature to enact that women, as well as men, shall be admitted to vote for such delegates.

The *Chronicle* also presents the following from Mr. Pillsbury:

EQUAL RIGHTS MEETING IN BRANCHPORT.

EDITOR OF THE CHRONICLE—*Sir:* My young colleague, Miss Bisbee, and myself, continue to meet with most encouraging success. Nearly everywhere we are received with at least open houses and hearts too, and hands are ready to be opened so soon as the object of our mission is known. Equal justice and impartial suffrage, irrespective or color or sex, is admitted to be but a most reasonable demand.

We regretted to find Branchport an exception to our general experience. Better supplied with churches and pulpits than any place of its size we have yet visited, we found all their doors closed against us. And had not hotel humanity and hospitality been better than they, we should have been left in the streets on Saturday evening, both as to our persons and our gospel.

A scowling sectarianism seemed determined to control the place and prevent our being heard. Nor did it in every instance express its refusals to us in very Christian or courteous words. But Weaver's Hall was generously and gratuitously opened to our use on Sunday evening, and was well filled with most attentive and interested listeners. Two of the churches even refused the neighborly kindness of loaning a few unused settees, our hall not being supplied with them sufficiently for the audience. If such *littleness* as that looks large

THE NEW YORK STATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

ADDRESS BY ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, BEFORE THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE AT ALBANY.

On the 23d inst., Mrs. Stanton delivered an address before the Judiciary Committee in the Assembly Chamber at Albany, in behalf of universal suffrage in the election of delegates to the forthcoming Constitntional Convention. The following are the main portions of the address:

GENTLEMEN OF THE JUDICIARY: I appear before you at this time to urge on you the justice of securing to the people of the State the right to vote for delegates to the coming Constitntional Convention. The discussion of this right involves the consideration of the whole question of suffrage, and especially those sections of your Constitution which interpose insurmountable qualifications to its exercise. As representives of the people, your right to regulate all that pertains to the coming Constitutional Convention is absolute. It is for you to say when and where this Convention shall be held, how many delegates shall be chosen, and what classes shall be represented. This is your right. The actions of the Legislatures of 1801 and 1821, furnish you a precedent for extending to disfranchised classes the right to vote for delegates to a Constitutional Convention. Before those Conventions were called, the right of suffrage was restricted to every male inhabitant who possessed a freehold to the value of £20, or rented a tenement at the yearly value of forty shillings, and had been rated and actually paid taxes to the State; and yet the Legislatures of those years passed laws setting aside all property limitations, and providing that all men, black and white, rich and poor, should vote for delegates to said Conventions. See Session Laws of 1801, page 190, chapter 69, section 2; also, those of 1821, page 83, act 90, sections 1 and 6. The Constitutional Convention of Rhode Island, in 1842, affords another precedent of the power of the Legislature to extend the suffrage to disfranchised classes. The disfranchisement of any class of citizens is in express violation of the spirit of our own Constitution, which says, Art. 1, section 1: "No member of this State shall be disfranchised, or deprived of any of the rights or privileges secured to any citizen thereot, unless by the law of the land and the judgment of his peers." Now, women, and negroes not worth $250, however weak and insignificant, are surely "members of the State." "The law of the land," is equality. The question of disfranchisement has never been submittted to the judgment of their peers. A peer is an equal. The "white male citizen" who so pomposnly parades himself in all our codes and constitutions, does not recognize women and negroes as his equals, therefore his judgment, in their case, amounts to nothing; and women and negroes, constituting three-fifths of the people of the State, do not recognize this "white male" minority as their rightful rulers. On our Republican theory that the majority governs, women and negroes must have a voice in the government of the State; and being taxed, should be represented. "White males" are the nobility of this country. They are the privileged order, who have legislated us unjustly for women and negroes as have the nobles of England for their disfranchised classes. The existence of the English House of Commons is a strong fact to prove that one class cannot legislate for another. Perhaps it may be necessary, in this transition period of our civilization, to create a Lower House for women and negroes, lest the dreadful example of Massachusetts should be repeated here, and black men take their places beside our Dutch nobility in the councils of the State. If the history of England has proved that white men of different grades cannot legislate with justice for one another, how can you, honorable gentlemen, legislate for women and negroes, whom, by your customs, creeds and codes, and common consent, are placed under the ban of inferiority? If you dislike this view of the case, and claim that woman is your superior, and therefore you place her above all troublesome legislation, to shield her by your protecting care from the rough winds of life, I have simply to say your statute-books are a sad commentary on this position. Your laws degrade, rather than exalt woman; your customs cripple, rather than free; your system of taxation is alike ungenerous and unjust. In demanding suffrage for the black man of the South, the dominant party recognizes the fact that, as a freedman, he is no longer a part of the family, therefore his master is no longer his representative; and as he will now be liable to taxation, he must also have representation. Woman, on the contrary, has never been such a part of the family as to escape taxation. Although there has been no formal proclamation giving her an individual existence, unmarried women have always had the right to property and wages, to make contracts and do business in their own name. And even married women, by recent legislation in this State, have been secured in some civil rights. At least as well secured as those classes can be who do not hold the ballot in their own hands. Woman now holds a vast amount of property in the country, and pays her full proportion of taxes, revenue included. On what principle, then, do you deny her representation? If you say women are "virtually represented" by the men of their household, I give you Senator Sumner's denial in his great speech on Equal Rights in the XXXIXth Congress. Quoting from James Otis, he says: "No such phrase as virtual representation was known in law or constitution. It is altogether a subtlety and illusion, wholly unfounded and absurd. We must not be cheated by any such phantom, or any other fiction of law or politics, or any monkish trick of deceit or hypocrisy." In regard to taxation without representation, Lord Coke says: "The supreme power cannot take from any man any part of his property without his consent in person or by representation. Taxes are not to be laid on the people (are not women and negroes people?) without their consent in person or by representation. The very act of taxing those who are not represented appears to me to deprive them of one of their most essential rights as freemen, and if continued seems to be in effect an entire disfranchisement of every civil right. For what one civil right is worth a rush after a man's property is subject to be taken from him without his consent." In view of such opinions, is it too much to ask the men of New York either to enfranchise women of wealth and education, or else release them from taxation? If we cannot be represented as individuals, we should not be taxed as individuals. If the "white male" will do all the voting, let him pay all the taxes. There is no logic so powerful in opening the eyes of men to their real interests as a direct appeal to their pockets. Such a release from taxation can be supported too by your own Constitution. In article 2, section 1, you say "And no person of color shall be subject to direct taxation unless he shall be seized and possessed of such real estate as aforesaid," referring to the $250 qualification. Now, a poor widow who owns a lot worth $100 or less is taxed. Why this partiality to the black man? He may live in the quiet possession of $249 worth of property, and not be taxed a cent. Is it on the ground of color or sex that the black man finds greater favor in the eyes of the law than the daughters of the State? In order fully to understand this partiality, I have inquired into your practice with regard to colored women. I find that in Seneca Falls there lives a highly-estimable colored woman by the name of Abby Gomore. She owns property to the amount of $1,000. It consists of village lots. She now pays, and always has paid, from the time she invested her first $100, the same taxes that any other citizen paid, just in proportion to the value of her property, or as it is assessed. After excluding women and "men of color," not worth $250, from representation, your Constitution tells us what other persons are excluded from the right of suffrage. Article 2, section 2: "Laws may be passed excluding from the right of suffrage all persons who have been or may be convicted of bribery, of larceny, or of any infamous crime, and for depriving every person who shall make or become directly or indirectly interested in any bet or wager depending upon the result of any election, from the right to vote at such election." How humiliating! for respectable, law-abiding women and "men of color" to be thrust outside the pale of political consideration with those convicted of bribery, larceny, and infamous crime, and, worse than all, with those who bet on elections; for how lost to all sense of honor must that "white male citizen" be who publicly violates a wise law to which he has himself given an intelligent consent. We are ashamed, honored sirs, of our company. The Mahomedan forbids a fool, a madman, or a woman to call the hour for prayers. If it were not for the invidious classification, we might hope it was tenderness rather than contempt that moved the Mahomedan to excuse woman from so severe a duty. But for the ballot, which falls like a flake of snow upon the sod, we can find no such excuse for New York legislators. Article 2, section 3, should be read and considered by the women of the State, as it gives them a glimpse of the modes of life and surroundings of some of the privileged classes of "white male citizens" who may go to the polls. "For the purpose of voting, no person shall be deemed to have gained or lost a residence by reason of his presence or absence while employed in the service of the United States, nor while engaged in navigating the waters of the State, or of the United States, or of the high seas; nor while a student in any seminary of learning; nor while kept at any alms-house or other asylum, at public expense; nor while confined in any public prison." What an unspeakable privilege, to have that precious jewel, the human soul, in a setting of *white manhood*, that thus it can pass through the prison, the asylum, the alms-house, the muddy waters of the Erie Canal, and come forth undimmed to appear at the ballot-box at the earliest opportunity, there to bury its crimes, its poverty, its moral and physical deformities, all beneath the rights, privileges and immunities of a citizen of the State. Just imagine the motley crew from the ten thousand dens of poverty and vice in our large cities, limping, raving, cringing, staggering up to the polls, while the loyal mothers of a million soldiers, whose bones lay bleaching on every Southern plain, stand outside, sad and silent witnesses of this wholesale desecration of republican institutions. When you say it would degrade woman to go to the polls, do you not make a sad confession of your irreligious mode of observing that most sacred right of citizenship? In asking you, honorable gentlemen, to extend suffrage to woman, we do not press on you the risk and responsibility of a new step, but simply to try a measure that has already proved wise and safe the world over. So long as political power was absolute and hereditary, woman shared it with man by birth. In Hungary, and some provinces of France and Germany, women, holding this inherited right, confer their right of franchise on their husbands. In 1858, in the old town of Upsal, the authorities granted suffrage to fifty women holding real estate, and to thirty-one doing business in their own name. The representative their votes elected was to sit in the House of Burgesses. In Ireland the Court of Queen's Bench, Dublin, restored to women, in 1864, the old right of voting for town Commissioners. In 1864, too, the government of Moravin decided that all women who are tax-payers had the right to vote. In Canada, in 1850, an electoral privilege was conferred on women, in the hope that the Protestant might balance the Roman Catholic power in the school system. "I lived," says a friend of mine "where I saw this right exercised for four years by female property-holders, and never heard the most cultivated man, even Lord Elgin, object to its results." Women vote in Austria, Australia, Holland and Sweden on property qualifications. There is a bill before the British Parliament, presented by John Stuart Mill, asking for household suffrage, accompanied by a petition from 11,000 of the best educated women in England. Would you be willing to admit, gentlemen, that women know less, have less virtue, less pride and dignity of character under republican institutions, than in the despotisms and monarchies of the old world? Your Codes and Constitutions savor of such an opinion. Fortunately, history furishes a few saving facts, even under our republican institutions. From a recent examination, by Lucy Stone, of the archives of the State of New Jersey, we learn that, owing to a liberal Quaker influence, women and negroes exercised the right of suffrage in that State thirty-one years—from 1775 to 1807—when "white males" amended the Constitution and arbitrarily assumed the reins of government. This act of injustice is sufficient to account for the moral darkness that seems to have settled down upon that unhappy State. During the dynasty of women and negroes does history record any social revolution peculiar to that period? Because women voted there, was the institution of marriage annulled, the sanctity of home invaded, cradles annihilated, and the stockings, like Gov. Marcy's pantaloons, mended by the State? Did the men of that period become mere satellites of the dinner-pot, the wash-tub, or the spinning-wheel? No! Life went on as smoothly in New Jersey as in any other State in the Union. And the fact that women did vote there created so slight a ripple on the popular wave, and made so ordinary a page in history, that probably nine-tenths of the people of this country never heard of its existence until recent discussions in the United States Senate brought out the facts of the case. In Kansas, women vote for school-officers, and are themselves eligible to the office of trustee. There is a resolution now before the Legislature of Ohio, to strike the words "white male" from the Constitution of that State. The Hon. Mr. Noell of Missouri has presented a bill in the House of Representatives to extend suffrage to the women of the District of Columbia. * * * As to property and education, there are some plausible arguments in favor of such qualifications, but they are all alike unsatisfactory, illogical and unjust. A limited suffrage creates a privileged class, and is based on the false idea that government is the natural arbiter of its citizens, while in fact it is the creature of their will. In the old days of the Colonies when the property qualification was £5, that being just the price of a jackass, Benjamin Franklin facetiously asked, "If a man must own a donkey in order to vote, who does the voting, the man or the donkey?" If reading and money-making were a sure guage of character, if intelligence and virtue were twin sisters, these qualifications might do; but such is not the case. In our late war, black men were loyal, generous and heroic without the alphabet or multiplication table, while men of wealth, educated by the nation, graduates of West Point, were false to their country and traitors to their flag. There was a time in England's history when the House of Lords, even, could neither read or write. Before the art of printing, were all men fools? Were the apostles and martyrs worth $250? If a man cannot read, give him the ballot, it is a school-master; if he does not own a dollar, give him the ballot, it is the key to wealth and power. I have called your attention, gentlemen, to some of the flaws in your Constitution, that you may see that there is more important work to be done in the coming Constitutional Convention than any to which Gov. Fenton has referred in his message. I would also call your attention to the fact that while His Excellency suggests the number of delegates at large to be chosen by the two political parties, he makes no provision for the representation of women and "men of color" not worth $250. I would, therefore, suggest to your honorable body that you provide for the election of an equal number of delegates at large from the disfranchised classes. But a response to our present demand does not legitimately thrust on you the final consideration of the whole broad question of suffrage, on which many of you may be unprepared to give an opinion. The simple point we now press is this: That in a revision of our Constitution, when the State is, as it were, resolved into its original elements, all the people should be represented in the Convention which is to enact the fundamental laws by which they are to be governed the next twenty years. Women and negroes, being five-eighths of the people, are a majority; and according to our Republican theory, are the rightful rulers of the nation. In this view of the case, honorable gentlemen, is it not a very unpretending demand we make, that we may vote once in twenty years in amending our State Constitution? But, say you, the majority of women do not make the demand. Grant it. What then? When you established free schools, did you first ask the urchins of the State whether they were in favor of being transplanted from the street to the school-house? When you legislated on the Temperance question, did you go to rum-sellers and drunkards and ask if a majority of them were in favor of the excise law! When you proclaimed emancipation, did you go to the slaveholders and ask if a majority of them were in favor of freeing their slaves? When you ring the changes on "negro suffrage" from Maine to California, have you proof positive that a majority of the freedmen demand the ballot? On the contrary, knowing that the very existence of republican institutions depend on the virtue, education and equality of the people, did you not, as wise statesmen, legislate in all these cases for the highest good of the individual and the nation? We ask that the same far-seeing wisdom may guide your decision on the question before you. Remember the gay and fashionable throng who whisper in the ears of statesmen, judges, lawyers, merchants, "*We have all the rights we want*," are but the mummies of civilization to be galvanized into life only by earthquakes and revolutions. Would you know what is in the soul of woman, ask not the wives and daughters of merchant princes, but the creators of wealth—those who earn their bread by honest toil—those who, by a turn in the wheel of fortune, stand face to face with the stern realities of life.

EQUAL RIGHTS.

THE following resolutions were adopted by the Equal Rights Convention held in Philadelphia on the 17th instant:

Resolved, That, as republican institutions are bound up in individual rights, the question for the American people to settle is the right of individuals, not races.

Resolved, That the present claim for manhood suffrage, sugar-coated with the words "equal," "impartial," "universal," is a cruel abandonment of the slave women of the South, and a fraud on the taxpaying women of the North, and an insult to the intelligence of the nineteenth century.

Resolved, That the effort made in the Senate of the United States to strike out the word "male" from the "District Suffrage Bill," merits our approbation, and we thank the nine Senators who advocated and voted for universal suffrage.

Resolved, That the true demand in the reconstruction is, no more "white male" citizens, and the women of Pennsylvania hereby instruct their self-appointed representatives in Congress to amend all bills now before them, that no States or Territories be admitted to the Union unless by their Constitutions they secure equal rights to all citizens, irrespective of sex or color.

Resolved, That they who are to be bound by a law, should have a voice in its enactment; and when any human being has attained the age of maturity, that person has a right, not merely a privilege or favor, but an absolute right, to have a voice in making the laws.

Resolved, That while we rejoice in the recent enactments in reference to the District of Columbia and the Territories, we are restrained in our joy by the withholding of the ballot from women.

Resolved, That the ballot, alike to women and men, means bread, education, intelligence, self-protection, self-reliance and self-respect; to the daughter it means diversified employment and a fair day's wages for a fair day's work; to the wife it means the control of her own person, property and earnings; to the mother it means the equal guardianship of her children; to all it means colleges and professions, open, equal opportunities, skilled labor and intellectual development.

Resolved, That the prohibition of the common rights of sepulture to colored people by our cemeteries incorporated as public burial-grounds, is a desecration of the place, and a withering reproach to our profession. And the exclusion of colored persons from the street cars is a gross outrage, giving more serious cause of complaint than those grievances of our forefathers which caused the struggle for independence.

Whereas, The reconstruction of our National Union is the lifting of the entire nation into the practical realization of the true republican idea of a government founded on absolute justice as the corner-stone; Therefore, in order to aid in this essential work, we agree to form a Society, to be auxiliary to the Equal Rights Association, to be called the "Pennsylvania Equal Rights Society," and adopt the following Constitution:

Article 1. The object of this Society shall be to secure perfect equal rights to all human beings.

Article 2. Any person approving of the principles of this Society and contributing to its funds may be a member, and entitled to speak and vote in its meetings.

The remaining Articles relate to the officers, business, and meetings of the Society.

The officers of the Society, nominated by the Committee and elected by the Convention, are the following:

President—ROBERT PURVIS.

Vice-Presidents—Lucretia Mott, William Whipper, Dinah Mendenhall.

Recording Secretary—Mary B. Lightfoot.

Corresponding Secretary—Frances B. Jackson.

Treasurer—John K. Wildman.

Executive Committee—William Still, Ellen M. Child, Harriet Purvis, Jr., Elisha Weaver, Octavius Catto, Sarah S. Hawkins, Sarah Pugh, Clementine John, Alfred H. Love, Louisa J. Roberts, Joy Chnapel.

In addition to the previous resolutions, the Business Committee presented the following, which were agreed to:

Resolved, That reconstruction should begin at home; that since a majority of the citizens of Pennsylvania are now taxed without representation, and governed without consent, and since those who would be free, themselves must strike the blow; therefore, the primary object of the Pennsylvania Equal Rights Society is to demand and obtain suffrage for the women and colored men of this State.

Resolved, That we call upon the people of Pennsylvania, without distinction of party, to form Equal Rights Clubs in every county, township and ward; to demand suffrage as the natural, inalienable birthright of every citizen; to circulate tracts, pamphlets and petitions; to organize meetings; to create and concentrate public sentiment; to direct attention to the disabilities of our disfranchised classes; to catechise candidates for all offices, State or National, and *to make the extension of suffrage the test question in all future political action.*

Resolved, That we demand from Congress the enfranchisement of women in the District of Columbia, and will welcome the proposition.

JULIA M. BARTLETT, one of the most devoted and efficient of the teachers of the freedmen, writes from Norfolk, Va., to a friend in this city:

"I am still engaged in the humble but benevolent work of teaching the freedmen. I have a fine school of about fifty scholars. Miss Draper, my associate, has about sixty in her school of the less advanced. There are four other teachers laboring here, sent out by another Society. Four years I have been engaged in this work, long enough to prove conclusively that colored children are just as susceptible of improvement as white children. Their progress would be much more rapid, could we have the comfortable school rooms of the North, and did not our children have to contend with poverty, which often keeps them out of school for want of shoes and suitable clothing. We are obliged to resort to almost every expedient to have them secure books. We often give the mothers washing in order that they may earn the books for their children, and we always find them willing to work. This is an encouraging feature.

"This people are rapidly developing their energies and proving that all they want is a fair opportunity to lead them to become independent. We teachers are sent out by a Society which merely affords us a bare maintenance, and are obliged to appeal to the charities of our friends for any extras. I am very much in want of a set of outline maps for teaching Geography. Knowing your interest in our work and your generosity, it has occurred to me that perhaps you and some of your friends would like to contribute some for the benefit of our school."

A note addressed to box 193, Norfolk, Va., and anything forwarded by express to her address, would reach Miss Bartlett and be very gratefully received in aid of her important, benevolent, and noble work.

OBITUARY.

DIED, on Thursday evening, January 24, in this city, ELLEN CHACE, youngest child of Asa B. and Lizzie C. Hutchinson, of the "Hutchinson Family," aged five years and eight months. The deceased was a sweet-spirited, beautiful child, of much promise for the future. She was fondly beloved by parents, sister and brothers, to whom, in their bereavement, the warm sympathy of many of our readers will be extended.

"The light of her young life went down,
As sinks behind the hill
The glory of a setting star—
Clear, suddenly and still.

"As pure and sweet, her fair brow seemed
Eternal as the sky;
And, like the brook's low song, her voice—
A sound which could not die.

"Fold her, oh, Father! in thine arms,
And let her henceforth be
A messenger of love between
Our human hearts and Thee."

IN the House of Representatives, January 14, 1867, Mr. Noell, on leave, introduced the following bill:

A BILL to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate the elective franchise in the District of Columbia.

Be it enacted, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the act entitled "An act to regulate the elective franchise in the District of Columbia," passed at the second session Thirty-ninth Congress, on the eighth day of January, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, be, and is hereby amended as follows: No person shall be disfranchised from voting or ineligible to office on account of sex, and all parts of said act of which this is amendatory, inconsistent with this act, are hereby repealed.

The bill was read twice, referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, and ordered to be printed.

LITERARY.

The *Fortnightly Review*, for December 1st contains an article by Lord Amberley, showing alike vigor of thought and moderation of tone, which considers "The Church of England as a Religious Body." The writer thinks that the obvious objections to alliance of the State with the Church are met, in part at least, by the consideration that, if a separation were effected—"the clergy, emancipated from the control of laymen, would become themselves the supreme judges, from whose verdict there would be no appeal, in matters relating to the doctrine and discipline of the church." We should have Episcopal Courts established among us, and every ecclesiastic who was accused of heresy would be dragged for trial before these tribunals. What sort of justice, and what sort of impartiality the unorthodox clergyman might expect at the hands of spiritual judges is sufficiently evident from the language that has been held by the dignitaries of the Church with regard to Essays and Reviews, and Dr. Colenso. A certain kind of liberty no doubt the clergy would gain by separation from the State—the liberty of ejecting and persecuting each other. That they themselves would highly appreciate and value this liberty it is impossible to deny; but whether their possessing it would be as beneficial to the country as it would be agreeable to themselves, is another question. There is at least one result of their enjoying such a power which may be easily foreseen; that section of the Church which is known by the name of "Broad" would be speedily driven from the position its members now occupy, and where, by the superiority of their intellectual powers, and their freedom from sectarian bitterness, they are doing so much to maintain the reputation of their Church, and to prevent it from sinking into a state of senile weakness and irretrievable decay."

Proceeding on the supposition that the State, without being severed from the Church, may act upon it more justly and advantageously than at present, Lord Amberly asks and answers as follows:

"What is the ideal which we ought to have in view in legislating for the Established Church? What are the great ends to which we should endeavor to render it subservient?

"If there be any propriety in the principles laid down at the beginning of this essay, it will not be difficult to find a rational and satisfactory answer to this inquiry. The State has no business to protect any one set of theological opinions rather than another; it ought to hold the scales with perfect impartiality between them all. Let this be granted, and it will follow that an Established Church, in order to justify the fact of its existence, ought to be, not sectarian, but national; and national not only in name, but in fact. It ought to represent the religious feelings of the whole community; no one should feel himself utterly excluded from it; no theological faction should be permitted to use it for the exclusive promotion of its own opinions. Variety, rather than unity of doctrine, should be its aim; for the manifold beliefs of the nation cannot be summed up in any single formula or aggregate of formula, however comprehensive. Should it appear that the conditions required of the clergy, by checking the free development of thought, put obstacles in the way of this variety, and thus leave a large part of the nation quite unrepresented in the Church, a sufficient case has arisen for the interference of the State; for the laity are defrauded of their rights when the National Church, which ought to have room for all, is in fact reserved for the benefit of a few."

Lord Amberley goes on to say—

"It is my profound conviction that the Church of England, if it is to continue at all, can only continue by making at least some approach to this ideal. It is hardly possible that the state of things we have now reached, and which the progress of knowledge is agravating every day, can be of long duration. A Church claiming to be national, enjoying the wealth, the privileges, the dignity of a State monopoly, but being, in reality, nothing better than an endowed sect; a clergy who are bound to swear allegiance to the obsolete dogmas of the sixteenth century, and who, by the conditions of their office, are almost precluded from sympathy with the life and onward movement of the age; a liturgy which pronounces the eternal damnation of all who do not hold every tittle of an unintelligible creed; a conception of the relation between Providence and nature in direct contradiction to all that we are taught by science: these things are so repugnant to the spirit of progress, they harmonize so ill with the intellectual atmosphere of our time, that any institution which continues to cherish and uphold them, can only do so at its own peril."

The February number of the *Atlantic* is one of the best we have seen for many months. Mr. E. P. Whipple contributes an essay on "Characteristics of the Elizabethan Literature," which is written in his best style.

The promised new story by Mrs. Rebecca M. Davis—author of "Life in the Iron Mills"—begins with much spirit and power. It is entitled "George Bedillion's Knight." Professor Agassiz has resumed his interesting scientific contributions, giving some account of "Glacial Phenomena in Maine." Mr. W. D. Howell furnishes one of his charming Italian sketches. Bishop Kip gives some exceedingly pleasant and readable "Recollections of John Vanderlyn, the Artist." The views of ultra European Republicans are presented by Joseph Mazzini in an article entitled "The Republican Alliance." Other contributions are by T. W. Higginson, J. T. Trowbridge, C. D. Stanley, Alice Cary, T. B. Aldrich, and Joseph Dane Howard. The author of "A Man without a Country," has an article, and Dr. Holmes continues his story.

Martin's *History of France* will no longer be published in Boston. The remaining divisions of the work will be issued by B. Bradstreet, Hoffman & Co., of 247 Broadway, New York. They have undertaken the work as a labor of literary love. Two more volumes, embracing the Ganlish period of French history, have been translated by Mary L. Booth, and are in the hands of the printers. Unfortunately, the parts of the work already issued have not been fairly before the public, and gross injustice has been done to the merits of the translation by certain reviewers through personal selfishness. Its Boston publishers could not float the expensive undertaking. Only by each friend of first-class historic literature subscribing for the entire work, can the translator be remunerated, publishers rewarded, and the reputation of the country increased. The work has a treble claim for our support. Its author is a friend of abolition, so is the translator, and the work is remarkable for philosophic judgment, patient research, dispassionate statements, and keen insight into the elements of civilizing forces.

Messrs. Ticknor and Fields have issued *The Pickwick Papers*, as the first volume of a cheap edition of Dickens's complete works. The edition will comprise twelve or thirteen volumes, and one volume will appear each month. *Our Mutual Friend*, complete in one volume, will be issued in February; and *David Copperfield*, in March. The appearance of the works of this distinguished novelist, in a pleasing dress, and at a moderate price, will be welcomed by numerous readers. The specimen now issued is a neat 18mo. volume, printed on excellent paper, and in a type the remarkably clear outline of which compensates for its comparatively diminutive size, so that it may be easily read without ruining the eyes. The volume contains several original illustrations of the well-known comic situations in "Pickwick," designed by Eytinge, and executed in the best style of that artist. Both in point of pictorial embellishment and mechanical workmanship, the volume must be regarded as a decided success, and highly creditable to the book-making art in this country.

Our Young Folks for February is an excellent number. A series of articles is just begun, under the title of "Round-the-World Joe," which promises to give much amusement and instruction to the young folks. They will be a book of travels made easy, and adapted to the youthful comprehension. George Eager, Wm. L. Williams, Katherine K. C. Walker, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Margaret T. Canby, "M. D. F.," Elijah Kellogg, Charles F. Foster, F. Warren Newcomb, Jr., Lucia Chase, Emily Huntington Miller, J. R. Thomas, contribute to the present number. The illustrations are numerous and generally good.

The Herald of Health for January and February presents an unusual amount of excellent matter from first-rate authors. The scholarly article in the January number, on the Sacredness of the Body, alone is worth more than the entire subscription price. The February number contains a very interesting article from H. W. Beecher, on Health Laws; one by Greeley, on Buildings for the Poor; and others on Muscular Power, Body and Brain, Home Treatment of Diseases of the Liver, and many good things for both sick and well. Miller, Wood & Co., 15 Laight street, New York.

Demorest's Monthly for February, one of the best magazines of its class, presents steel engravings of fashions, finely colored, and a full paged picture, printed in colors, of the Ascent of the Matterhorn. It gives also full sized patterns for embroidery in profusion. It contains a waltz song, "The Snow Flake;" Fine scenes of Lumbering in America; the Last Game; and thirty other illustrations.

Magnus Maharba and the Black Dragon, is an eloquent little book, telling the story of President Lincoln's abolishing slavery, and noble old John Brown giving his life for freedom. It stirs the divinest emotions of the soul. We wish every girl and boy would read it. It is published by Brown and Duer, New York. Sent by mail for 75 cents.

The London Review, in a notice of "A Child's Book of Religion," by O. B. Frothingham, remarks that "the simplicity, learning, and entire freedom from cant in Mr. Frothingham's works for children, make them invaluable for their purpose."

RECEIVED.

Additional Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts, by George H. Moore, of the New York Historical Society; pamphlet, fifteen pages.

Proceedings of the Illinois State Convention of Colored Men, containing resolutions, the State and National Addresses, list of delegates, etc.; pamphlet, thirty-eight pages. Chicago: Church, Goodman and Donnelly.

Our Boys and Girls, Oliver Optics Magazine, No. 5; Boston, Lee and Shepard.

ART ITEMS.

Leutze has commenced a study, in water color, for a large picture entitled "The Emancipators." It will contain the portraits, as far as practicable, of the chief emancipators of the world, from the days of Moses to those of Abraham Lincoln; and Plato, Aristotle, Wilberforce, and the Czar of Russia, will figure with Sumner, Phillips, Garrison, Whittier, Bryant, and Lucretia Mott.

The Bath *Times* says that Mr. John Jackson, sculptor, formerly of that city, has received a commission from the State of Rhode Island to execute a Soldiers' Monument, to be erected in Providence. It is to be forty feet high, having four allegorical figures representing "Liberty," "Justice," "Valor," and "Fidelity," surmounted by a symbolical figure of Rhode Island, holding in one hand a wreath, and resting the other upon the shield of State. It is to cost $50,000.

Prof. S. F. B. Morse, now in Paris, has purchased Allston's "Jeremiah" for $7,000, for presentation to the Yale School of the Fine Arts.

TO LYCEUM MANAGERS.—MRS. FRANCES E. W. HARPER, formerly of Boston, has prepared two lectures, "The Nation's Great Opportunity," and "The Colored Man as a Social and Political Force," which she will deliver to Lyceums, etc. Application may be made direct to Mrs. Harper, No. 107 North-Fifth street, Philadelphia. She has permission to refer to Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Esq., Revs. R. C. Waterson, John T. Sargent and Leonard A. Grimes, Charles W. Slack, Esq., and Mrs. J. C. Johnson, 78 Temple street.

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CANTATAS.

As the Hart Pants, *Mendelssohn*, Boards 60 cents, Paper 50 cts. Hear my Prayer, *Mendelssohn*, 50 cents. Hymn of Praise, *Mendelssohn*, $1 00. Miriam's Song of Triumph, *Schubert*, 75 cents. Praise of Friendship, *Mozart*, 50 cents. St. Cecilia's Day, *Van Bree*, Cloth $1 25, Paper $1 00. May Queen, *Bennett*, Cloth $1 25, Paper 90 cents. The Morning, *Reiss*, 50 cents. Storm King, *Baker*, 38 cents. Burning Ship, *Baker*, 85 cents. Winter Evening's Entertainment, *Child*, Cloth $1 25, Paper $1 00. Transient and Eternal, *Romberg*, 38 cents. Great Rebellion, *Webster*, $3 00.

The above for sale by all Music Dealers, and sent by mail, postpaid, by OLIVER DITSON & CO., Publishers, 277 Washington street, Boston.

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THE JACKDAW.

[Vincent Bourne, who wrote the following lines in Latin more than a hundred years ago, was an usher in the Westminster School. Cowper, the poet, was a pupil under him, and subsequently gave an English version to the poems of his former master. Towards the close of his life, Daniel Webster repeated these lines, expressing his belief that poetry and wisdom had rarely been more happily blended :]

There is a bird who, by his coat,
And by the hoarseness of his note,
Might be supposed a crow ;
A great frequenter of the church,
Where bishop-like, he finds a perch,
And dormitory too.

Above the steeple shines a plate,
That turns and turns, to indicate
From what point blows the weather,
Look up—your brains begin to swim,
'Tis in the clouds—that pleases him,
He chooses it the rather.

Fond of the speculative height,
Thither he wings his airy flight,
And thence securely sees
The bustle and the taree-show
That occupy mankind below,
Secure and at his ease.

You think, no doubt, he sits and muses
On future broken bones and bruises,
If he should chance to fall.
No! not a single thought like that
Employs his philosophic pate,
Or troubles it at all.

He sees that this great roundabout,
The world, with all its motley rout—
Church, army, physic, law,
Its customs and its business,
Is no concern at all of his,
And says—what says he? Caw!

Thrice happy bird! I, too, have seen
Much of the vanities of men ;
And, sick of having seen 'em,
Would cheerfully these limbs resign
For such a pair of wings as thine,
And such a head between 'em.

DR. WITHINGTON ON THE ART OF CONVERSATION.

Discussion is a most delightful mode of conversation, if the company are up to it, and the more earnest the better. Then you drop the mask ; then you lay bare the heart ; then your opinions, like the pebbles on the shore, under the action of the advancing or receding wave, are worn into smoothness and polished into beauty. Then mind meets mind, and your most sober conclusions are brought into sympathy with all mankind. You are improved for the moment, and you carry your improvement into the solitude of reflection. It is a stimulus to memory, and you cannot take up a book without feeling the influence of free discussion. I have sometimes thought that hearing a consummate orator is one of the greatest pleasures of our sublunary life. But no—I recant—I recall the opinion. There is one still greater ; it is the evening when you sit up till three o'clock in the morning, sometimes jumping up from your chair, sometime sitting down again ; winding your pocket-handkerchief around your knees—tying your legs together ; knocking your opponent's chair over, as well as his arguments ; sometimes talking loud, and then in a subdued key—running through all the notes of the gamut ; lost in some discussion, where the mortification and the triumph strangely meet to temper each other, and both combine to seal an advancement on your memory, whose light is to be extinguished only by closing the eye in death.

When you are the messenger of very painful tidings, what is the best method ? After much reflection, I must conclude that the shortest and simplest way of communicating the facts is the best. Here nature and philosophy meet ; here our last experience confirms our first practice. You have to impart to an affectionate mother the death of her son who was drowned at sea. How shall it be done ? Nature teaches ; art can add nothing more. "O lady, I have sad news to impart ; your son, on such day, fell from the yard and was drowned. He has left us." This is the way they communicated things of old. So Homer (Iliad, xviii., 20, 21), when the tidings is brought to Achilles of Patroclus's death, : "Patroclus is down ; they are fighting around his naked corpse, and his armor is held by the plume-waving Hector." A striking instance is found in British history. When Gen. Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga, the rumor (very indefinite) one morning had reached the House of Commons. Every one was alert to hear, when Lord North arose slowly in his place, and with a solemn voice, said : "Gen. Burgoyne and his whole army are prisoners to the Americans ;" and a dead silence of several minutes followed. How different is this from the shuffling and equivocations in which in modern times we disguise our defeats ! The same method is sanctioned in the Bible. When Eli sat trembling for the ark of God, he heard the dreadful news : "And the messenger answered and said, Israel is fled before the Philistines ; and there hath been a great slaughter among the people ; and thy two sons Hophni and Phinehas are dead ; and the ark of God is taken" (1 Sam. iv. 17). What condensed language ; and every word laded with sorrow. No wonder that the effect followed ; "And it came to pass when he made mention of the ark of God, that he fell from off the seat backward, by the side of the gate, and his neck brenk, and he died ; for he was an old man and heavy ; and he had judged Israel forty years."

There are three cases when flattery is allowable—at least commendation : first, to discouraged youth ; secondly, as a seasoning to reproof, to make it more efficacious ; and thirdly, to promote general good will. We say so many bad things behind each other's backs, that if we did not say some good things to each other's faces, the world would become a den of lions.

If a good man ever says a pleasant thing, it must be in company where there are no expectations. Pleasant things rise up in conversation like bubbles on a pure stream, winding beneath the shades, and free in its winding.

There are few people that touch the summit of excellence in the art of conversation. Just as among the swallows that fly around a steeple, it is only a part of the number that settle on the vane. Various reasons may be suggested for this. Men of copious minds do not always pour out their effusions in a crystal stream. Some are irritable, some sullen ; some have lost their tongues over their folios ; some are sensitive ; some tremblingly alive to their own reputation, and hazard nothing without preparation. But one of the most common causes why a man of ability fails in conversation is a double surface to his heart and a double tone to his tongue. He is like a tree that gives its fading blossoms before its flourishing fruit. He talks from a superficial consciousness, that is, he rattles away without the least effort, pouring out his first thoughts in his first language. Goldsmith was an example. Everybody that had read his books was disappointed when they heard him talk. It was said of him, "he wrote like an angel, and talked like a parrot." Webster had something like this. He delighted to whistle and talk like a boy. John Adams was another example. I have a strong impression, if, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, you could have overtaken the bard of Avon going up from Stratford to London, and could have heard his conversation as he rode on his nag with his wife on a pillion behind him, had you not known by a previous introduction, you would never suspect you were in the presence of the immortal Shakspeare. How do you know this ? I reply, I do not know. We have few traditions of the peculiarities and personalities of the great bard whose delineations of all other characters are so well known ; and yet I never had a conviction so deeply rooted with positive proof as that Shakspeare did not talk up to his reputation. Why, first, the relaxed temper of his mind ; secondly, the supreme carelessness of his best effusion ; thirdly, the depths of his inner consciousness show that it must have had an outer rind ; and, finally, analogy. We find many dramatic writers who have this superficial folly, which covers up and dares not indicate the thoughts it conceals. Sheridan was in some degree an example. How like a fool he acted in his convivial pleasantries. He hardly degenerated when he was drunk.—*Bibliotheca Sacra for January.*

There was a singular problem among the stoics, which ran to this purpose : "When a man says, 'I lie,' does he lie or does he not ? If he lies, he speaks the truth ; if he speaks the truth, he lies." Many were the books written upon this wonderful problem. Chrysippus favored the world with no less than six, and Philetus studied himself to death in his vain endeavors to solve it.

ENGLAND AND THE CONTINENT.

England is the country of remarkable windfalls—of fortunes falling from the skies, in the most unexpected and fairy-tale fashion. An ex-policeman of London, the other day, came into a property of £150,000. He had been living on the police pension of, I think, fourteen shillings a week, which is given after twenty years' faithful service. The lawyer who got it for him made a condition that he should give £25 to his poor relations, and another £25 to certain hospitals for the benefit of the poor. A miserly old Scotchman, one Ferguson, has just died immensely rich—died very suddenly as he was signing a check for £10,000. He was struck with paralysis when the name was half written. He left his property to charities and to hundreds of poor people, whom all his life he had utterly neglected.

Day-laborers, masons, carpenters, and in one case a poor fish-hawker, suddenly became possessed of thousands by a lottery in which they had not even bought a ticket. He had not been within the walls of a church for forty years, so he left £400,000 for the spread of the Gospel. The case of Mr. D. D. Home, to which I have before alluded, is as curious as any I know of. He was perfectly penniless and in great trouble ; he clung to the valuable presents he had received—keepsakes he would scarcely have parted with to keep him from starving ; and his expectations of property from the estate of his wife were only at the end of a tedious litigation. At this juncture a rich old lady, and an entire stranger, adopted him for her son and heir. She gave him £24,000 in cash, just for his immediate needs, and a few days ago handed him his Christmas box of £6,000—$30,000. "Why," said he, telling of this little token of maternal affection, "it's like a fairy tale, isn't it ?" And the best of it is that the adopted son and the adoptive mother are entirely delighted with each other.

Ferguson, the Scotch miser, would quarrel like a beggar for a sixpence ; and though he could not give up his money as long as he lived, had not a miser's enjoyment in its possession. He used to say, "I am a poor rich man—burdened with money, but I have nothing else." Miss Coutts is richer, but she is as generous as she is rich, and expends probably four-fifths of her income in various charities, and though vexed with improvident poor and unorthodox bishops, she has her reward.

When Napoleon called the English a nation of shopkeepers, he might have mentioned the phrase with an adjective. Fourier compared the shopkeepers—storekeepers, as you Yankees say—with so many spiders with their nets spread out, waiting grimly in their dark parlors behind for the silly flies, their customers. The London shopkeeper is not content to sell you sand for sugar, corn-meal for mustard, manipulated lard for butter, and all sorts of mixtures for tea, coffee, spices, jams, and everything that can be adulterated, he cheats you in weight and measure besides. During the past year eight hundred dealers have been convicted and fined for these mean dishonesties in one London court. I doubt if one in ten were brought up who deserved to be in that small district.

Some have been fined three or four times—worthy, respectable church and chapel-going people, who go to the parish church or Mr. Spurgeon's tabernacle every Lord's day. Of these 800 there were 250 publicans, who, in Scripture times, were accounted a bad lot, and only 5 milkmen. The milkmen, as a rule, give good measure, but water their milk abominably. The publicans water their liquors all they will bear, and make one barrel of beer into three—but their customers still have tastes to be satisfied, so they take measures to cheat them. A nation of shopkeepers—but the big wholesale dealers, railwaymen and bankers are getting as bad as the costemongers, whose half-pound weights never go over six ounces. There are certainly honest people left in England—only you cannot always be sure of finding them when they are wanted.

Mr. Ullman has been astonishing the Italians, and especially the Florintines. Having organized a concert troupe, with Carlotta Patti as his prima donna, he announces a series of "unprecedented concerts on the American system." The Italians have no belief in any music but their own, even in Europe. To talk of giving concerts in Florence on the American system, seems to them about as absurd as to propose to bring them Hottentot literature or Equimaux art. So they are waiting for the American concerts. But Carlotta Patti they are likely to have heard of, for the doors of her concert-room were so mobbed by eager crowds the other day at Lyons, that the police had to be reenforced by the military. Let me add that the bewitching Adalina has come out as a composer, first of a successful waltz, and now of a song.—*London Correspondent of the New York Times.*

ONLY A BABY SMALL.

Only a baby small,
Dropt from the skies ;
Only a laughing face.
Two sunny eyes ;
Only two cherry lips,
One chubby nose ;
Only two little hands,
Ten little toes ;
Only a golden head,
Curly and soft ;
Only a tongue that wags,
Loudly and oft ;
Only a little brain,
Empty of thought ;
Only a little heart,
Troubled with naught ;
Only a tender flower,
Sent us to rear ;
Only a life to love,
While we are here.

New Use for Diamonds.—In July, 1864, an apparatus for boring rocks with diamonds was patented in France by Lescot. It was not practical, but later improvements by Pihet, toward the end of 1866, made it so. As now constructed it consists of an iron tube, at one end of which is the edge, armed with a series of black diamonds of Siberia, which are set in such a way that by turning the tube by means of a machine, they excavate an annular groove in the rock, and leave in the centre a solid cylinder which enters the tube, and is easily broken off and extracted when the boring is finished. Fifteen such machines have already been manufactured ; its advantages appear to be that it progresses uniformly, however great the hardness of the rock may be. The progress is about three-quarters of an inch per minute, and no doubt may, by further improvements, be considerably increased.

The diamonds never wear out ; it is known that this is also the case with the glazier's diamonds, and that the black diamond is a variety much harder than any other. It appears also that the expense of boring with a simple machine of this kind is about the same as boring in the old way ; however, more labor is turned out ; but the great advantage is, that in the same space, where, for instance, in the Mount Cenis tunnel, three borers were attached, eight of these machines may work, requiring no more power to drive them. The expense of excavating tunnels with a single machine of this kind, in hard rock, was found in France to be forty to fifty francs per cubic meter, which corresponds to six or eight dollars per cubic yard.—*Philadelphia Ledger.*

A WATER LILY.

BY R. K. WEEKS.

Touch it not : too cold and white
It lies in its dreamy, silent sleep,
Over the waters still and deep,
Still and deep, and dark as night.
Touch it not, for well I know,
Far away down deep below,
Its roots are tangled in the hair,
(Golden and long like this you wear),
Floating over a face as fair,
And as white, and still and cold, ah, me,
As the voiceless flower reflected there
Dreaming over the mystery.
Touch it not ; for such are we :
Beautiful blossoms of life that grow
O'er an unknown depth, with roots that lie
Floating, but linked with a secret tie
To a beautiful death below.

The Cost of Luxuries Ninety Years Ago.—One cannot help smiling or wondering in 1865 that such things could be done for the money even 90 years ago, as are related by Gibbon, the historian, in a letter to a friend, on his second visit to Paris in 1775 : "You may add to the pleasures of society those of the grand spectacles, and you will find that I had a very agreeable life. Let me just condescend to observe that it is not extravagant. After decking myself out with silks and silver, the ordinary establishment of coach, lodging, servants, eating, and pocket expenses does not exceed £60 per month. Yet I have two footmen in handsome liveries behind my coach, and my apartments are hung with damask."

THE SNOW-STORM.

Announced by all the trumpets of the sky
Arrives the snow, and driving o'er the fields,
Seems nowhere to alight ; the whited air
Hides hills and woods, the river, and the heaven,
And veils the farm-house at the garden's end.
The sled and traveller stopped, the courier's feet
Delayed, all friends shut out, the housemates sit
Around the radiant fireplace, inclosed
In a tumultuous privacy of storm.
Come see the north wind's masonry.
Out of an unseen quarry evermore
Furnished with tile, the fierce artificer
Curves his white bastions with projected roof
Round every windward stake, or tree, or door.
Speeding, the myriad-handed, his wild work
So fanciful, so savage, naught cares he
For number or proportion. Mockingly
On coop or kennel he hangs Parian wreaths ;
A swan-like form invests the hidden thorn ;
Fills up the farmer's lane from wall to wall,
Maugre the farmer's sighs, and at the gate
A tapering turret overtops the work.
And when his hours are number'd, and the world
Is all his own, retiring, as he were not,
Leaves, when the sun appears, astonished Art
To mimic in slow structures, stone by stone,
Built in an age, the mad wind's night-work,
The frolic architecture of the snow.

Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Early Struggles of Medical Men.—Dr. John Cheyne, who a quarter of a century ago was by far the busiest and best employed physician in Dublin, tells us, in his interesting autobiography, that during the first half of his second year's settlement in the Irish capital, and when he had already reached the 34th year of his age, his fees only amounted to about three guineas. Nine years subsequently he was making £5,000 annually. Not above one or two physicians in London ever drew, I believe, a larger professional income, or perhaps, ever advanced more early into full practice, than Dr. Chambers ; yet, during the fifth year of his practice, when he was already thirty-four or thirty-five years of age, he did not receive above £211 in fees. Seventeen years subsequently, his annual professional income is stated to have reached nearly £9,000. His great predecessor in high London practice, Dr. Matthew Baillie, drew above £11,000 in one year, and yet, with all the interest of the Hunters and others to aid him in his outset, his first march upward was, like that of all others, very slow and difficult, and, to quote the words of his biographer, Dr. Wardrop, before "he found himself fairly established in practice," he had been already for twelve years physician to St. George's Hospital, and for nearly 20 years a medical lecturer. Dr. Baillie's uncle, the celebrated Dr. William Hunter, who spent a large fortune, gained by his profession alone, upon the collection of that splendid museum which now enriches the University of Glasgow, was so hard pressed for money during the years of his earlier struggles in London practice, that he was obliged to postpone for a fortnight the commencement of his third season of lectures, in consequence of not having money enough to pay the expense of the usual class advertisements. Nor have our greatest surgeons been usually more successful than these our greatest physicians, in the first stages of their professional career. In 1788 the son of an English clergyman attended the medical classes of Edinburgh University, and lived on the third flat in Bristo st., in a room which cost him six shillings and sixpence a week. In after life, when swaying the surgical sceptre of England, as Sir Astley Cooper, his professional income, in one single year, amounted to £23,000 ; and yet, during the first twelve months after he had settled down in London and was working as a lecturer on anatomy and surgery, his receipts from private practice only amounted to five guineas. The distinguished surgeon who by Sir Astley's death was left at the head of the surgical school of London, Sir Benjamin Brodie, did not, as we are told in a late biographical sketch of him, get into "full practice" till 1825 ; yet he had been lecturing, practicing and publishing since 1805, or for twenty long years previously.—*Leisure Hour.*

A Curious Clock.—Many years ago there was a clock made by one Droz, a mechanic of Geneva, which was renowned for its ingenious construction. The clock was so made as to be capable of performing the following movements : There was on it a negro, a shepherd, and a dog. When the clock struck, the shepherd played six tunes on his flute, and the dog approached and fawned upon him. The clock was exhibited to the King of Spain, who was greatly delighted with it. "The gentleness of my dog," said Droz, "is his least merit. If Your Majesty touch one of the apples which you see in the shepherd's basket, you will admire the fidelity of this animal." The King took an apple, and the dog flew at his hand and barked so loud that the King's dog, which was in the same room during the exhibition, began to bark also, at which the superstitious courtiers, not doubting that it was an affair of witchcraft, hastily left the room, crossing themselves as they went. Having desired the Minister of Marine, who was the only one who dared to stay behind, to ask the negro what o'clock it was, the minister asked, but received no reply. Droz then observed that the negro had not yet learned the Spanish ; upon which the minister repeated the question in French, and the black immediately answered him. At this new prodigy the firmness of the minister also forsook him, and he retreated precipitately, declaring that it must be the work of a supernatural being. It is probable that in the performance of these tricks, Droz touched certain springs in the mechanism, although that is not mentioned in any of the accounts of his clock.

FIVE O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING.

The dew lay glittering on the grass,
A mist lay on the brook ;
At the earliest beam of the golden sun,
The swallow her nest forsook.
The snowy bloom of the hawthorn tree
Lay thickly, the ground adorning ;
The birds were singing in every bush,
At five o'clock in the morning.

And Bessie, the milkmaid, merrily sang,
For the meadows were fresh and fair ;
The breeze of the morning kissed her brow,
And played with her nut-brown hair ;
But oft she turned and looked around,
As if the silence scorning ;
'Twas time for the mower to whet his scythe
At five o'clock in the morning.

And over the meadow the mowers came,
And merry their voices rang ;
And one among them wended his way
To where the milkmaid sang ;
And, as he lingered by her side,
Despite his comrade's warning,
The old, old story was told again,
At five o'clock in the morning.

Office.—Mr. Bright, in his speech on the new reform bill, in one of the intervals of his mangling of Mr. Lowe, who had attacked him rather severely, spoke of the charms of office, and its effect upon the political notions of men :

"Now, I don't object for a moment to a member of this House being fond of office. Why, sir, the Chancellor of the Exchequer lives much more happily in office than if he were out of it ; although I don't think that in office he can live perhaps quite as long. I don't complain that men are so fond of office, although I could never understand why they should like it so much. But if I may be allowed to parody one or two lines of the stanza in one of the most beautiful poems in our language, I might ask—

'For who to dumb forgetfulness a prey,
That pleading, anxious office e'er resigned,
Left the warm precincts of the Treasury,
Nor cast one longing, lingering book behind?'

(Laughter and cheers.) What I do complain of—and it is a fair complaint, and I make it of these two right honorable gentlemen—is this, that when place recedes into the somewhat dim past, that which when they were in office was deemed patriotism vanishes with it. (Cheers.)"

The Overplaced Man.—We need not fear the underplaced man—he will find his level. It is for the overplaced that we should have misgivings. In the caucus, men ask, Is he a Republican, or is he a Democrat ? then, Has he talents and ability ? and then, Is he honest and to be trusted ? These affirmatively answered, they may make him their candidate, cover him with honor and success, and go home and tell their wives what a good thing they have done, forgetting to ask the fourth and chief question, Has he the will, the personal force, and the power to assert and maintain his position ?—*Emerson.*

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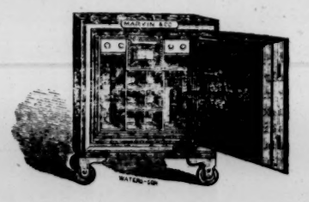

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